

OTHER BOOKS BY
MARC EDMUND JONES

GEORGE SYLVESTER MORRIS
His Philosophical Career and Theistic Idealism

OCCULT PHILOSOPHY
An Introduction, the Major Concepts and a Glossary

GANDHI LIVES

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ILLUSTRATED

AND WITH AN AFTERWORD BY
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DAVID MCKAY COMPANY
WASHINGTON SQUARE • PHILADELPHIA

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PRINTED IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Grateful acknowledgements are made to the following authors and their publishers in connection with various quotations and references; in particular, the periodicals *Young India* and *Harijan*, edited by Gandhi himself or under his direction, and the volume, *Gandhiji, His Life and Work*, published on his seventy-fifth birthday, Bombay, Karnatak Publishing House, 1944; Jawaharlal Nehru's *An Autobiography*, London, John Lane, 1936; Muriel Lester's *Entertaining Gandhi*, London, Ivor Nicholson and Watson, 1932; *Builders of Modern India: Mahatma Gandhi*, by R. M. Gray and Manilal C. Parekh, London, Student Christian Movement, 1924, Romain Rolland's *Mahatma Gandhi, The Man Who Became One With The Universal Being*, translated by Catherine D. Groth, New York, The Century Company, 1924; the anonymous compilation, *Great Thoughts of Mahatma Gandhi*, Madras, Ganesh & Co., 1925; and *The Bhagavad Gîtâ or the Lord's Lay*, translated by Mohini M. Chatterji, Boston, Houghton Mifflin, 1887.

A BRIEF GLOSSARY

- Abhankara*, the center of absolute ego in selfhood, atma
Abimsa, avoiding *himsa* or harm to animals, or any life
A.I.S.A., All-India Spinners' Association
Akhada, a court, congregation or fraternity
Arati, the waving of lights in a Hindu temple ceremony
Arya Samaj, a sect in Hinduism, founded about 1860
Ashrama, *ashram*, a religious household or settlement
Atma, *atman*, ego in universal potentiality, ahankara
Avatar, an incarnation of divinity
Ba, a term of public endearment for Gandhi's wife, Kasturba
Bapu, or *Bapuji*, a similar term applied to Gandhi
Bhagavad-Gita, the favorite devotional Scripture in Hinduism
Bhangi, a bhang or drug addict, a low person
Brabman, a member of the highest Hindu caste, the priest
Buddhi, individual soul, atma in personal manifestation
Buddhism, a religion developing out of Hinduism in the sixth century B.C.
Chakra, a vortex of spiritual power corresponding to a nerve plexus in the body
Dharma, the consequences of an individual's own nature (*cf.* karma)
Harijans, the Untouchables seen as "God's own people"
Islam, the religion of Mohammed, the Mohammedan world
Jainism, a reformation of Hinduism contemporary with Buddhism
Ji, a suffix expressing intimacy, affection and respect (*cf.* Bapuji)
Karma, the consequences of involvement in any closed system of reality (*cf.* dharma)
Khaddar, *khadi*, cotton cloth made on the hand loom
Khalifat, *khilafat*, the caliphate or spiritual leadership in Islam
Krishna, the theistic deity of Hinduism, an avatar of Vishnu
Kshatriya, second Hindu caste, the warrior or ruler
Kshetra, the field of human experience, i.e., the body
Kshetrajna, soul or spirit in a given embodiment
Lota, a small water vessel of metal
Mahabharata, one of the great Hindu epics

- Mahatma*, a title meaning great soul (*cf.* Paramahansa)
Manas, mind as the focus in experience of a personal existence
Manu, man generalized, as the root-man and seed-man for each basic race of mankind
Mohammedan, *Mussulman*, *Moslem*, a follower of Mohammed
Nirvana, emancipation through a union with the godhead
Paramahansa, *Paramhansa*, a title meaning one who has mastered himself completely
Panrapoli, a cattle pond for strays
Pipal, the sacred fig tree of India
Puranas, the epic literature of India
Purdah, a screen used to protect women from public view
Rajayoga, the yoga of mind rather than body
Rasa, the essence or æsthetic element in anything
Rig-Veda, first and most important of the *Vedas*
Rishi, a Hindu sage, one of the seven ancients
Ryot, a peasant
Satyagraha, truth-grasping as a movement of non-violence for socio-political reform
Satyagrahi, a follower of satyagraha
Shastras, the four groups in which Hindu Scriptures are divided, as the *Puranas*
Sikhism, a reformed Hinduism originating in the sixteenth century
Suddhi, the effort to convert Mohammedans to Hinduism
Sutra, a precept or aphorism arranged for memorization
Swadeshi, the encouragement of home products as a move towards swaraj
Swaraj, national independence or Indian self-rule
Tabligh, the effort to convert Hindus to Mohammedanism
Upanishads, the speculative literature arising out of the *Vedas*, a principal source of Hindu philosophy
Vedas, the earliest compilations of Hindu Scriptures
Vedanta, Hindu philosophy as based on the Upanishads, also a particular one of the later six schools
Varnashrama, the Hindu's fundamental conception of caste
Vishnu, member of the Hindu divine trinity (*cf.* Krishna)
Yoga, a method of spiritual attainment by self-discipline
Yogi, one who practices yoga or attains illumination through it
Zamindar, a landholder by a species of feudal right

ONE

THE TIDE IN AFFAIRS

On Friday, January 30, 1948, a frail and rather small man, who had recently celebrated his seventy-eighth birthday (seventy-ninth in the Hindu way of reckoning), was late for his regular afternoon prayer meeting. He hurried, but he was weak as a result of the fast he had started on the 12th of January (and ended five days later or a bare two weeks before) and he leaned heavily on the young shoulders of Manu and Ava, the devoted grandnieces who attended him constantly. He had been delayed in conversation with Sardar Vallabhai Patel, Deputy Prime Minister of India, who had long been the real political executive of the Congress party and who was that one of the government's chiefs in the new nation who was in considerable sympathy with the doctrine of India for the Hindus (which Gandhi opposed). Gandhi had come to New Delhi from Calcutta, after his success in quelling the riots in that Moslem-administered city, although he intended to return and to continue residing with the Hindu minority in Pakistan, as a new base of operations for his attempt to bring about an all-India unity. In the face of the very evident present impossibility of such a consummation, he had accepted partition. Throughout his life he had realized that most human progress is piecemeal at best. Nevertheless he had refused to participate in the celebration of independence, which had been achieved on August 15, 1947, and which was celebrated throughout both India proper and Pakistan.

Viscount Mountbatten, Viceroy of India, had identified Gandhi as the "architect of India's freedom," but

the Mahatma remained in his Calcutta hut because in victory he had really lost his battle and would have to begin all over again. The widespread rioting following upon the achievement of independence had been met by Gandhi, in Calcutta, with the fast which he had announced would continue until that city "returned to sanity." For the moment his course was successful, and he was credited with the restoration of peace to the sub-continent's largest metropolis. His move to the capital of a truncated India at New Delhi was with the idea of giving a wider range to the moral power of his fasting. This technique, despite its effectiveness in his hands, has remained incomprehensible to the Western mind, but once again he had won a momentary success. As in Calcutta, when groups of mixed Moslems and Hindus came to his camp to surrender the weapons they had used in the rioting, so in New Delhi this last fast in the month of his assassination—which he had announced would continue until a move to real unity among the Hindus, Sikhs and Mohammedans had been made—actually compelled the leaders of the Hindu communities to sit down and agree on a common effort towards peace.

The bitter divisions in India are not only an expression of the rivalries among these essentially religious communities, but they also have nurtured a clearly defined and increasingly organized opposition to Gandhi, his objectives and his methods. Lines of economic class and privilege are no less involved. In New Delhi Gandhi was a guest at Birla House. His host, the wealthy industrialist Ghanshyam Das Birla, was an individual loved by Gandhi, but the Mahatma regarded the Birla textile mills, among the very largest in the world, as a representation of the greatest single factor in the debasement of India's millions, the machine per se. Here at the very end is to be seen the great inconsistency of the Mahatma's thinking, if judged by any fair Western standard, and yet what is also an example of the greater

and unswerving consistency in his approach to human personality and in his everyday manifestation of his religious concepts.

On the last afternoon of his life Gandhi made his way along the pathway through the garden of the Birla mansion, to the pavilion which had become his prayer-meeting place. His intimates had begged him to permit a measure of police protection, at least to the point of searching strangers for hidden weapons, but he had refused. If God chose to continue his life, nothing could harm him, and if in a divine economy and direction of events the end was due, no man-made precautions could prevent it. There were some foreshadowings of the tragedy, as reported in the many accounts through the press and news periodicals, although this sense of imminence is a common characteristic of the hour-by-hour living in any religious ashrama. It is a note that runs through the apocalyptic literature of the Jews and early Christians, and that is especially marked in the eschatological teachings and writings preceding and following the death of Jesus. Whether or not the average person chooses to see a divine planning in these things, so that at a given point of tension a great soul or mahatma can better continue his impact upon his time and age with the buttressing dramatization of a self-sacrificing death, the end result is that to which history gives testimony. Here is a proposition which can be debated endlessly because, after all, the concept of a deliberate prearrangement by a higher power is beyond any logical demonstration and so must depend upon its acceptability to the particular mind. It is a simple fact that the death of Jesus gave a power to Christianity, and a meaning to the inner mysteries of this faith. Interpretations may vary widely but the drama remains in its historical setting.

A more profitable parallel, as far as Gandhi is concerned, has been found in the figure of Abraham Lincoln, an individual with as astute a down-on-earth polit-

ical sense as Gandhi himself, and one who has become a myth to the extent at least that the average American school child comes to believe it was Lincoln's goodness and not his political gifts that was responsible for his greatness. Martyrdom dramatizes an emphasis. What is peculiar in Gandhi's case is that his complete identification of politics and religion with each other, and his uncompromising recognition of religious values as socially certified, provide far more substance for an on-going and deathless presence of himself in the world than perhaps has been true of any individual in history since Jesus. He is of far greater stature than Ramakrishna, heretofore India's real saint of modern times, thanks to this total enmeshment of his career in the history of his people. By the same token he overshadows Shankara, whose contribution was mainly a clarification of India's spiritual genius, and primarily intellectual. Hence Gandhi must be compared with Gautama Siddhartha, as far as the East is concerned, and there are many who expect him to become, in the light of a future perspective, the greatest of all, since the political impact of his achievements as well as the spiritual inspiration of his life are welded together in the peculiar and characteristic fashion which these pages will seek to make clear.

At sunset on the fateful Friday, with a sense of lateness and yet an inner content to rest his destiny in the wisdom of God's knowing, Gandhi continued along the path until his progress was interrupted by someone who spoke to him. Events occurred so swiftly that there may never be full agreement on the precise details. A well-built and rather large Hindu, described as dressed in rough, Western-style clothing, confronted the Mahatma, and with a small pistol, a product of the West's mechanical genius, fired three bullets, one into Gandhi's chest and two into his abdomen. The initiate in the occultism of the East will in time build as much symbolism upon the manner of wounding as has been established

around the piercing of Jesus' side by the soldier's spear at Golgotha. The chakras, located symbolically in correspondence with certain of the autonomic nerve plexuses and described as vortexes of spiritual power, represent the divine potentialities of individual man. From this especially occult point of view, as Gandhi succumbed to evil, his end was cushioned by those among the chakras which are said to facilitate any preliminary mastery of the materialistic world by whosoever would move forward towards his own apotheosis.

The assassin was identified as Nathu Ram Vinayak Godse, editor of the *Hindu Rashtra*, an extremist newspaper which had opposed Gandhi as an appeaser of the Moslems. He was a young man of thirty-six and a Hindu from Poona, a section in which the sentiment against Gandhi's ideas was specially bitter. The shooting was at 5:15 p.m., East Indian time, and Gandhi died within a half-hour. As he was shot, he was seen to make a characteristic gesture of forgiveness. As his life ebbed away, he called for water, but could not drink. There is no report of any actual dying utterance. Thus came to a climax the several violent attacks on India's great soul. His house in Calcutta was stoned in August of the preceding year, and by Hindus, not Moslems. The immediately prior attempt at assassination was by means of a crude bomb placed on the garden wall, eleven days before the fatal Friday. As far back as June 25, 1934, a bomb was thrown in Poona, and Gandhi's assassin belonged to the Mahasabha (Great Society), the second largest and most militant of the groups which opposed his philosophy.

Gandhi leaves no intimate associate or talented lieutenant to carry on the long-continued efforts for Indian unity and peace which, by their very nature, were so largely centered in his own person. Perhaps the closest to a successor is Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, who as Prime Minister is head of the Hindu state. It was Nehru who

spoke to his nation over the radio. "The light has gone out of our lives and there is darkness everywhere." At the funeral pyre Nehru said, "Little father, here are flowers. Today, at least, I can offer them to your bones and ashes. Where will I offer them tomorrow, and to whom?" In sheer pathos this is reminiscent of the words of Peter who asked Jesus, "Lord, to whom shall we go?" in answer to the question of the Nazarene to his twelve disciples, "Will ye also go away?"

The learned and proud Brahman, Nehru, member of the Indian aristocracy which had snubbed Gandhi in London and which in many ways had scorned his message and methods on his return to India, became a devoted follower of the Mahatma, but never the complete disciple. Perhaps Nehru's point of view is best expressed by an extract from his *An Autobiography* (London, John Lane, 1936). "Many of us had cut adrift from this peasant outlook, and the old ways of thought and custom and religion had become alien to us. We called ourselves moderns, and thought in terms of 'progress' and industrialisation and a higher standard of living and collectivisation. We considered the peasant's view-point reactionary, and some, and a growing number, looked with favour towards socialism and communism. How came we to associate ourselves with Gandhiji politically, and to become, in many instances, his devoted followers? The question is hard to answer, and to one who does not know Gandhiji no answer is likely to satisfy. Personality is an indefinable thing, a strange force that has power over the souls of men, and he possesses this in ample measure, and to all who come to him he often appears in a different aspect. He attracted people, but it was ultimately intellectual conviction that brought them to him and kept them there. They did not agree with his philosophy of life, or even with many of his ideals. Often they did not understand him. But the action that he proposed was something tangible which

could be understood and appreciated intellectually. Any action would have been welcome after the long tradition of inaction which our spineless politics had nurtured; brave and effective action with an ethical halo about it had an irresistible appeal, both to the intellect and the emotions. Step by step he convinced us of the rightness of the action, and we went with him, although we did not accept his philosophy. To divorce action from the thought underlying it was not perhaps a proper procedure and was bound to lead to mental conflict and trouble later. Vaguely we hoped that Gandhiji, being essentially a man of action and very sensitive to changing conditions, would advance along the line that seemed to us to be right. And in any event the road he was following was the right one thus far . . .”

Personality is indeed an indefinable thing. Gandhi will ever elude definition if the attempt is made to set him in some frame of thought and realization alien to the genius of his own life. Perhaps it is well if his absolute uniqueness is preserved by holding him inconsistent and beyond understanding. It is possible that the triviality in much of his writing, the superficial inconsistency of almost everything he said and did, the lack of any attempt on his own part to intellectualize his thoughts and insights, may conspire to give the world a greater contribution. Many a religion has lost its soul in a neatly ordered theology. Many a cause, ranging from those of global dimensions down to the least of personal and petty involvements, has become confused and robbed of its direction and its vitality through a snarling in words. For an evaluation of Gandhi, therefore, the only practical procedure would seem to begin with a survey of his life, to achieve a complete and over-all perspective of everyday judgment upon what he did, and to end with an analysis of that one of the Eastern sacred writings in which he so largely anchored his own spiritual views, namely, the Bhagavad-Gita, and to move

from the outer to the inner of these correctives through a sampling of his ideas in the light of the immediate problems presented in the various areas of his principal interest. Such at least is the plan on which these pages are ordered.

Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi was born on October 2, 1869, at Porbandar on the Kathiawar Peninsula, or that part of Gujarat where the Parsees first landed in India and were welcomed into the diversity which characterizes the country as a whole. Thus Gandhi's basic language is Gujarati and his home, after his return from South Africa, was at Ahmedabad, an ancient city where the interest in handicrafts, together with the problems of industrialization, were sharpened for all to see. He was the youngest son of Karamchand Gandhi, and for two generations his people had held important political office in various small states in the peninsula. When young Gandhi was seven, his father became a judge at Rajkot. Gandhi attended primary school here for five years. When seven he was betrothed to Kasturba Maknaji, daughter of a merchant. From the age of twelve to fifteen he was in high school at Rajkot, and he married Kasturba when thirteen. He sowed some minor wild oats in this period, eating meat to be big and strong like the English and stealing a bit of gold, events which made a permanent impact on his sensitive conscience. His father died when he was sixteen. The old gentleman in his last days often discussed their faith with Parsee and Moslem friends, and Mohandas in listening to these talks first developed his tolerance for all faiths. At about eighteen he attempted college studies, but found them difficult, and returned home. It was suggested that he go to England to study law, and he sailed from Bombay on September 4, 1888.

This event marked the first real transition in his life. The orthodox caste people attempted to stop him. In England he found himself isolated almost completely by

prejudice against his color and because he did not belong to either caste higher than his own, and also because he held firmly to his vows not to indulge in meat, wine or sex. He attempted, somewhat ludicrously, to achieve some Western skills such as dancing, and he began a study of the violin, but he soon realized that it was impossible to qualify as a gentleman in Western terms and so he reverted—as it happened, for the rest of his life—to simple living and voluntary poverty as a definite technique for a social accomplishment. Returning to India, in his twenty-second year, he encountered great difficulties in attempting to begin the practice of law, because he was not subservient enough to British ideas, and so accepted a legal commission in South Africa for Abdulla & Company, a Mohammedan firm in Porbandar. He reached Natal in May, 1893, and thereupon entered the first major period of his life work.

Gandhi's career in South Africa covered a full two decades, and it was in this time that he developed his non-violence methods and won through them the spectacular victory that brought him to world-wide notice. At the beginning he saw the Indians in South Africa not only held in no respect by the Europeans but divided among themselves. Thus Moslems called themselves Arabs, and the Parsee clerks went self-identified as Persians. The indentured laborers from India were usually known as coolies by the English, and all Indians recognizable as such were by association dubbed coolie or sammy. Gandhi, therefore, became known as a coolie barrister. Resisting Jim-Crow prejudice, he suffered much indignity and discomfort. He called a meeting of Indians in Pretoria to present the picture of what he had found in the Transvaal, and with that act began his public work in behalf of his countrymen. The fact that the Natal government proposed to disfranchise Indians completely led Gandhi to remain in South Africa when the case that had brought him there was settled by arbi-

tration in 1894. Two years later, at twenty-seven, he brought his wife and children from India, and settled down. By 1898 feeling had become so high that Gandhi, returning from a visit to India where he had agitated in favor of the South African Indians, was actually mobbed, perhaps marking the real beginning of the life-long persecution he was to suffer for his ideas.

With the outbreak of the Boer War, in 1899, Gandhi's sympathies were with the Boers, but he remained loyal to the British rule, believing the Indians would gain emancipation only within and through the Empire. He organized a large group of the Indians in South Africa and got their services accepted as an ambulance corps. In 1901 he left for India, believing his work in South Africa was finished, but was called back, reaching Pretoria early in 1903. The next year he began editing *Indian Opinion*, printed in four languages and dealing with the problems of his South African countrymen. All this time he was studying, and preparing himself for his greater mission. He had been seeped for a decade or more in the sacred Scriptures of the world—such as the Bible, the Koran, the Upanishads and so on—and now he read Vivekananda's *Rajayoga* and Patanjali's *Yoga Sutra*, and made the Bhagavad-Gita his principal book of reference. Ruskin remotely and Tolstoy directly had a tremendous influence upon him, and he began the development of the ashrama as a center of his work. The Phoenix Settlement was established in 1904, from which thereafter *Indian Opinion* was printed and distributed.

By 1907 tensions reached their peak. The Black Act was to be effective from July 1st, and the Indians were to register before the end of that month. The passive resistance movement then took practical form, about a thousand Chinese joining the Indians because the law applied to them also. So many Asiatics were thrown into prison that there was not room enough, and some of them had to be kept in mine pits. Gandhi surrendered

his very flourishing and profitable law practice to lead the fight. Gandhi himself and all other leaders were arrested and jailed, and this was the future Mahatma's first incarceration. General Smuts proposed that the prisoners would be released and the Black Act withdrawn if a sufficient number of Indians registered voluntarily. Gandhi held a meeting at Johannesburg in a mosque at midnight, with some thousand of the Indians, and the settlement was ratified almost unanimously. The Pathans were the principal dissenters, and Gandhi was attacked by a few of them and beaten badly. Meanwhile the British, instead of repealing the Black Act, made fresh provision for the registration of Asiatics. Hence the struggle continued through the next four years with non-violence gradually exercising the moral force that its proponents had anticipated. Finally the great struggle ended triumphantly, culminating in the agreement between Smuts and Gandhi in 1914.

In 1915 Gandhi settled down at Ahmedabad, in Gujarat, and founded his Satyagraha (i.e., truth-grasping as a program of non-violence) Ashram on May 25th, in a small village near the city. Here begins the second major period of his life work. He committed himself to the cause of the Untouchables, and started his uncompromising battle for swaraj or Indian independence. In 1918 he became interested in the struggle of the Ahmedabad mill hands, and in the next few years he intervened in several labor disputes, gradually refining the methods of boycott and the technique of non-violence by which he had achieved his early results. By 1919, however, he realized that passive resistance had to be presented by a disciplined and strong people. It could never be the mere upsurging of the weak, leading to the gathering of a mob that would get out of hand and meet oppression with violence; thus achieving nothing in the end. In this year he characterized his early and more optimistic conceptions of

the results to be gained through boycott and non-co-operation as a "Himalayan miscalculation."

It was in 1919 that Gandhi interested himself in the Khilafat question, a primarily Moslem concern with the Turkish Peace Treaty in which the British had failed to carry out their promises to the Mohammedan peoples of the world. Civil Disobedience was organized on a broad scale. Gandhi was jailed, taking full responsibility for inciting the untoward occurrences in Madras, Bombay and Chauri Chaura. While incarcerated he wrote his first major work, *The Story of My Experiments With Truth*. He was released in 1924, when Jawaharlal Nehru was elected Working Secretary of the Congress at Gandhi's insistence, thus beginning the long and close association between these two. Tension between the Congress party and Lord Irwin, the Viceroy, increased gradually. Finally in March, 1930, Gandhi sent a virtual ultimatum to the Viceroy, saying that he would "fain approach you and find a way out," before embarking on Civil Disobedience as a major effort for immediate independence. In this month the historic march to Dandi took place, to break the salt law, and India was in turmoil from end to end. Nehru was arrested in April. Gandhi drafted a second letter to the Viceroy, to say that he intended to raid the salt depots at Dharasna and Chharsada, whereupon he was arrested and imprisoned also. Repercussions were world-wide. More than a hundred American clergymen, headed by John Haynes Holmes, urged the British premier to come to terms with Gandhi and the Indian people. The government in India took drastic action, but futilely.

Finally Lord Irwin released Gandhi and the members of the Working Committee of the Congress unconditionally, on January 25, 1931. Gandhi interviewed the Viceroy on February 18th, and again on the 27th, and on March 4th the famous Gandhi-Irwin Pact was

signed. Boycott was to cease, but the propaganda for independence could continue. Peaceful picketing was to be allowed, but any defiance of laws was to cease. All repressive ordinances, however, were to be withdrawn and there was to be a general amnesty. People on the sea coast were given the right to pick up, manufacture and sell salt. Gandhi was made the representative of the Congress and the Indian people, to go to London to attend the second Round Table Conference and attempt a solution for the Indian problem. He left Simla by special train on August 27, 1931, and reached London on September 12th, just before his sixty-second birthday. The London visit gave him the opportunity to put his point of view on record through his several addresses, and thus dramatize the Indian problem before the world again. With the next year, or 1932, the lack of real progress in the move towards Indian independence led to the resumption of Civil Disobedience under strict rules, and the British administration countered this with a ban against the Congress organizations.

Gandhi was incarcerated on January 4th, and by September 20th he was ready to announce "a perpetual fast unto death from food of any kind, save water with or without salt and soda." Three days later his condition took a turn for the worse but by September 26th a government communication satisfied him, and he broke his fast. He warned the Hindus that he would resume if there was not a relentless pursuit of the goal, the complete removal of social and religious discrimination against the Untouchables. In 1933, as the result of another fast, his condition became precarious, and he was released from prison unconditionally on August 23rd. On regaining his strength he resumed his work for the Untouchables and for Indian freedom. Thereupon events continued more or less on the same pattern of struggle forward to the goal, with continual cross purposes and the various irreconcilable lines of interest in

growing complexity, until World War II brought events to a head.

Gandhi felt that he could not trust British promises, and was no longer willing to support the Empire. Sir Stafford Cripps made a futile attempt to achieve a settlement in 1942, arriving in New Delhi on March 22nd and leaving on April 12th with no definite accomplishment. Gandhi took full and personal leadership of the Congress. His willingness to "leave India in God's hands" as a choice of evils actually suggested, for a short while, that India might even refuse to oppose the oncoming Japanese advance. Gandhi was arrested once more, and Winston Churchill took the stand that the policy of non-violence had been abandoned and that the Congress party "has come into the open as a revolutionary movement." Gandhi was held in prison until his unconditional release on May 6, 1944, with events otherwise following their characteristic see-saw pattern, largely because it proved impossible to get the Moslem League to agree to any pattern of government for a unified India. Under the political and economic pressure of a totally upset world, the British at last were ready to get out of India, but there was no meeting of minds as to means or basis. Nothing was acceptable to the Moslems but the separate Pakistan, so that when freedom came, that for which Gandhi had struggled, it involved the partition which was utterly galling to him. The new fight was on lines drawn by the greater significance of his life as a spiritual figure, living on after death had taken him.

GANDHI THE STATESMAN

When Gandhi went to England in 1931, to participate in the Round Table discussions and attempt a negotiated solution for India's problems, he presented his own political views with a definitiveness not brought to a point of similar clear focus either before or afterwards. His addresses, as official representative of the Indian National Congress, were printed in full by *Young India*. While not prepared for book publication, or designed for more than their immediate purpose, they constitute a fine and readily available record of Gandhi's mature point of view. He is speaking against oppositions which must be overcome, and in behalf of objectives which cannot be formulated in the light of anything but immediate necessities and their possible consummations. Thus his thinking is revealed in the terms of living and critical issues. Indeed, he is embarrassed because he is called on to make his points without any harmony of minds either as directed toward the same aims except in the most general sense, or as inclined in any effective degree to accept the same interpretation of the very mundane facts in the case.

In his talk before the Federal Structure Committee of the Round Table Conference he explains that he has "come to London to attend this sub-committee, as also the Round Table Conference, when the proper time comes, absolutely in the spirit of co-operation and to strive to my utmost to find points of agreement. I would like also to give this assurance to His Majesty's Government, that at no stage is it, or will it be, my desire to embarrass authority; and I would like to give the same

assurance to my colleagues here, that however much we may differ about our view-points, I shall not obstruct them in any shape or form. Therefore, my position here depends entirely upon your goodwill, as also the goodwill of His Majesty's Government. If at any time, I found that I could not be of any useful service to the Conference, I would not hesitate to withdraw myself from it. I can also say to those who are responsible for the management of this Committee and the Conference that they have only to give a sign and I should have no hesitation in withdrawing."

Gandhi must not be misunderstood in this approach. His humbleness is no pose, but rather a realization at once of the relative ineffectiveness of his struggles for Indian independence, as in contrast with the more spectacular and relatively quick success of his efforts for his countrymen in South Africa, and also of the far more complex factors involved in the situation, so that his own motives were mixed and his own conceptions clear in principle only. His willingness to move freely with the developments of a living context—which is so great a part of his philosophy, and hence never to be seen at any point as a mere politician's compromise—simply disarms him when he seeks to deal fairly with all in a milieu where the clashes of interest cannot be reduced to black and white. His willingness to eliminate himself, if his personality should contribute to a lessening of understanding or a lack of achievement, is only what he is demanding of everyone else, namely, a subordination of the outer self and its private interest to the general welfare of all, and hence a development of that more spiritualized selfhood upon which a better human society must depend.

The values in any society require a spread in space. This means a very real consideration of every man's interests, especially the Untouchables. The British must be served no less than the Indians, and the Mohammed-

dans and other minorities no less than the Hindus. In addition society needs an equivalent spread in time, or a full taking into account of history and tradition. Here is a note not often emphasized adequately in an analysis of Gandhi and his work. The past is a guarantee of the present, and for the Indian National Congress he therefore pleads its roots in actual political experience and self-establishment, even while also calling attention to its width of real representation as far as the people of India are concerned. "The Congress is, if I am not mistaken, the oldest political organisation we have in India. It has had nearly 50 years of life, during which period it has, without any interruption, held its annual session. It is what it means—national. It represents no particular community, no particular class, no particular interest. It claims to represent all Indian interests and all classes." He points out that the Congress itself was not even the idea of an Indian in the beginning. Allan Octavius Hume was its father, and it held its first session at Bombay in 1885, due to the direct efforts of this English ornithologist and retired Indian administrator. Gandhi names two Parsees who were prominent in its development along with Moslems, Christians and representatives of all religions, sects and communities. He speaks of one Indian Christian who was its president, and recalls that a number of women held the presidency, including Annie Besant, the well-known English Free-thinker and political agitator who, upon becoming a Theosophist, followed in the footsteps of Hume and worked tirelessly for India's self-determination.

Furthermore, the Congress had served the British. "If your Highnesses will permit me to say it, in the very early stages, the Congress took up your cause also. Let me remind this Committee that it was the Grand Old Man of India [that is, the Parsee, Dadabhai Naoroji] who sponsored the cause of Kashmir and Mysore, and these two great Houses, I venture, in all humility, to

submit, owe not a little to the efforts of Dadabhai Naoroji and the Congress. Even now the Congress has endeavoured to serve the Princes of India by refraining from any interference in their domestic and internal affairs." And then, "Above all, the Congress represents, in its essence, the dumb, semi-starved millions scattered over the length and breadth of the land in its seven hundred thousand villages, no matter whether they come from what is called British India, or what is called Indian India. Every interest which, in the opinion of the Congress, is worthy of protection, has to subserve the interests of these dumb millions. You do find now and again an apparent clash between several interests. If there is a genuine and real clash, I have no hesitation in saying on behalf of the Congress that the Congress will sacrifice every interest for the sake of the interests of these dumb millions. It is, therefore, essentially a peasant organisation, or, it is becoming so progressively."

Here, of course, is the phenomenon so typical of developments in the world today. What in World War II had more dramatic form in the underground or resistance movements of the countries overrun by the Nazis, taken in conjunction with the revolutionary spirit which resulted during World War I in the development of Soviet Russia, is here seen as what is essentially an upsurging of the masses. Gandhi refers to these inarticulate hordes as the dumb millions, and it is true that without some measure of leadership and encouragement they might never stir in their own behalf, but it is yet the power inherent in the total little fellow or common man that has been caught up and made the foundation of the strength exhibited by the new leadership in world politics. With different motivation and ideology in India, this is no less the same rising up of the proletariat as described in Marxist terms. Gandhi himself has been analyzed in a direct comparison with Lenin in the book by René Fülöp-Miller (*Lenin and Gandhi*, New York,

Putnam's, 1927) and with Stalin by Louis Fischer (*Gandhi and Stalin*, New York, Harper, 1947). This point of view must never be lost to sight if Gandhi's attitude towards governmental functions is to be understood. His pattern of revolution in terms of civil disobedience linked to non-violence may perhaps differ from Communist tactics, but it is revolution nonetheless, although of an ethical and even religious sort primarily. In this last respect it constitutes a movement to be compared with the rise of Christianity more than with the social reform by political or military action represented characteristically by the French and Russian extirpation of an aristocracy or a privileged class.

Gandhi reminds his listeners of "what is to me a sacred Settlement, the Settlement arrived at Delhi between the Government of India and the Congress. In that settlement, the Congress has accepted the principle of federation; the principle that there should be responsibility at the centre, and has accepted also the principle that there should be safeguards in so far as they may be necessary in the interests of India . . . There was one phrase used yesterday, I forget by which delegate, but it struck me very forcibly. He said, 'we do not want a merely political constitution.' I do not know that he gave that expression the same meaning that it immediately bore to me; but I immediately said to myself, this phrase has given me a good expression. It is true the Congress will not be, and personally speaking, I myself would never be, satisfied with a mere political constitution which to read would seem to give India all she can possibly politically desire, but in reality would give her nothing . . . The Congress contemplates a partnership; the Congress contemplates a connection with the British people, but that connection should be such as can exist between two absolute equals. Time was when I prided myself on being, and being called, a British subject. I have ceased for many years to call myself a

British subject: I would far rather be called a rebel than a subject; but I have now aspired, I still aspire, to be a citizen not in the Empire, but in a Commonwealth, in a partnership if possible; if God wills it, an indissoluble partnership, but not a partnership superimposed upon one nation by another."

What is at stake here are facts and not mere words, social realities and not empty political formulas. "The Congress claims that either party should have the right to sever this connection, to dissolve the partnership. It has got to be, necessarily therefore, of mutual benefit." Gandhi recognizes the core of the situation in the economic compulsions which lie upon the British, and is quite frank. "May I say—it may be irrelevant to the consideration, but not irrelevant to me—that as I have said elsewhere, I can quite understand responsible British statesmen today being wholly engrossed in domestic affairs, in trying to make both ends meet. We could not expect them to do anything less." However, Britain and India have been linked closely for years, and out of this can come something constructive, as well as conflict and misunderstanding. "It is possible that the British ministers themselves might consider the proceedings of the Round Table Conference to be of primary importance even in terms of their domestic affairs. Yes, India can be held by the sword. But what will conduce to the prosperity of Great Britain, and the economic freedom of Great Britain: an enslaved but a rebellious India, or an India, an esteemed partner with Britain to share her sorrows, to take part side by side with Britain in her misfortunes?" India can be linked to Britain permanently and happily, "but at her own will, to fight side by side with Britain, not for the exploitation of a single race or a single human being on earth, but it may be conceivably for the good of the whole world.

"If I want freedom for my country, believe me, if I can possibly help it, I do not want that freedom in order

that I, belonging to a nation which counts one-fifth of the human race, may exploit any other race upon earth, or any single individual. If I want that freedom for my country, I would not be deserving of that freedom if I did not cherish and treasure the equal right of every other race, weak or strong, to the same freedom. And so I said to myself, whilst I was nearing the shores of your beautiful island that, perchance it might be possible for me to convince the British Ministers that India as a valuable partner, not held by force but by the silken cord of love, an India of that character might be conceivably of real assistance to you in balancing your budget, not for one year but for many years. What cannot the two nations do—one a handful but brave, with a record for bravery perhaps unsurpassed, a nation noted for having fought slavery, a nation that has at least claimed times without number to protect the weak—and another a very ancient nation, counted in millions, with a glorious and ancient past, representing at the present moment two great cultures, the Islam and Hindu cultures and if you will, also containing not a small but a very large Christian population, and certainly absorbing the whole of the splendid Zoroastrian stock, in numbers almost beneath contempt, but in philanthropy and enterprise almost unequaled, certainly unsurpassed . . . Take that nation and this nation together, I again ask myself and ask you whether with an India free, completely independent as Great Britain is, an honourable partnership between these two nations cannot be mutually beneficial; even in terms of the domestic affair of this great nation.”

In another address to the Federal Structure Committee Gandhi makes the complaint that can be made against conference after conference of professional statesmen, as well as lesser politicians. To him there seems no will towards settlement, but rather a jockeying with phrases, a playing with words, a tendency to move

forward fruitlessly because every real issue is lost in verbalisms. "Lord Chancellor . . . before I proceed to deal with the several points that are noted down here for discussion I should like, with your permission, to disburden myself of an oppressive feeling that has been growing on me ever since Monday . . . that we are not the chosen ones of the nation which we should be representing, but we are the chosen ones of the Government . . . These proceedings seem to me to be interminable and to be leading us practically nowhere . . . May I here lodge a gentle, humble complaint against His Majesty's advisers. Having brought us together from over the seas, and knowing, as I take it they do know, that we are all of us, without exception, busy people, as they themselves are, and that we have left our respective posts of duties, having brought us together is it not possible for them to give us a lead? Can I not, through you, appeal to them to let us know their mind? . . . I do want them to guide us and to give us a lead, and to place their own cards on the table. I want them to say what they would do supposing that we appointed them as the arbiters of our destiny. If they would be good enough to seek our advice and opinion, then we should give them our advice and opinion. That would be in my opinion really a better thing than this state of hopeless uncertainty and endless delay."

Gandhi then gets down to cases himself. "I placed before the Committee the mandate of the Congress, and I have to discuss every one of the sub-heads in terms of that mandate . . . We are an ill-assorted group, each member of which is perfectly independent, and is entitled to give his or her views. In that state we have no right, in my humble opinion, to say to the States what they shall do and what they shall not do. Those States have very generously come to our assistance and said that they would federate with us, and perhaps part with some of their rights which they might otherwise have

held exclusively . . . I can only venture a suggestion or two to the great Princes for their sympathetic consideration, and I would urge this, being a man of the people, from the people, and endeavouring to represent the lowest classes of society—I would urge upon them the advisability of finding a place for themselves also in any scheme that they may evolve and present for the acceptance of this sub-Committee. I feel, and I know, that they have the interests of their subjects at heart. I know that they claim, jealously to guard their interests, but they will, if all goes well, more and more come in contact with popular India, if I may so call British India, and they will want to make common cause with the inhabitants of that India, as the people of that India would want to make common cause with the India of the Princes. After all, there is no vital, real division between these two Indias.

“If one can divide a living body into two parts you may divide India into two parts. It has lived as one country from time immemorial, and no artificial boundary can possibly divide it. The Princes, be it said to their credit, when they declared themselves frankly and courageously in favour of Federation, claimed also to be of the same blood with us, our own kith and kin. How could they do otherwise? There is no difference between them and us except that we are common people and they are, God has made them, noblemen, princes. I wish them well; I wish them all prosperity, and I also pray that their prosperity and their welfare may be utilised for the advancement of their own dear people, their own subjects. Beyond this I will not go, I cannot go, I can only make an appeal to them . . . Without that spirit of give and take I know that we shall not be able to come to any definite scheme of Federation, or, if we do, we shall ultimately quarrel and break up. Therefore, I would rather that we did not embark upon any federal scheme than that we should do so without

our full hearts in the thing. If we do so, we should do so whole-heartedly."

The distinction among political units is no different than that among private individuals, and so when it comes to the problems of the franchise, on which so much of any federal structure would depend, Gandhi says that he "cannot possibly bear the idea that a man who has got wealth should have the vote but that a man who has got character but no wealth or literacy should have no vote, or that a man who works honestly by the sweat of his brow day in and day out should not have the vote, for the crime of being a poor man. It is an unbearable thing, and having lived and mixed with the poorest of the villagers, and having prided myself on being considered an untouchable, I know that some of the finest specimens of humanity are to be found amongst these poor people, amongst the very untouchables themselves. I would far rather forego the right of voting myself, than that this untouchable brother should not have the vote. I am not enamoured of the doctrine of literacy, that a voter must at least have a knowledge of the three R's. I want for my people a knowledge of the three R's but I know also that if I have to wait until they have got a knowledge of the three R's before they can be qualified for voting I shall have to wait until the Greek Kalends, and I am not prepared to wait all that time. I know millions of these men are quite capable of voting." However, "if we are going to give them the vote, it will become very difficult, if not absolutely impossible, to bring them all on the voters' list and have manageable constituencies," and he continues to discuss this point realistically, and at some length, and suggests a central government elected by community representatives rather than by an unwieldy electorate.

Gandhi next turns to bicameral legislatures, remarking that he is "certainly not enamoured or I do not swear by two legislatures. I have no fear of a popular

legislature running away with itself and hastily passing some laws of which afterwards it will have to repent. I would not like to give a bad name to it and then hang the popular legislature. I think that a popular legislature can take care of itself, and, since we are dealing with the poorest country in the world, the less expenses we have to bear the better it is for us." When it comes to representation by special constituencies of special interests, he explains that the "Congress has reconciled itself to special treatment of the Hindu-Muslim-Sikh tangle. There are sound historical reasons for it, but the Congress will not extend that doctrine in any shape or form. I listened to the list of special interests. So far as the untouchables are concerned . . . the Congress will share the onus . . . of representing the interests of the untouchables. The interests of the untouchables are as dear to the Congress as the interests of any other body or of any other individual throughout the length and breadth of India. Therefore, I would most strongly resist any further special representation. Under adult suffrage, labour units certainly do not require any special representation; landlords most decidedly not . . .

"The Europeans . . . hitherto they have been the privileged class, they have received the protection that this foreign Government could give, and they have received it liberally . . ." but "if they would now make common cause with the masses of India they need not be afraid . . ." Indeed, a European "will be preferred to an Indian if he will make common cause with us. Take Charlie Andrews [Gandhi's biographer]. I assure you that he will be elected a delegate in any constituency in India without the slightest difficulty. Ask him whether he has not been received throughout the length and breadth of India with open arms. I could multiply the instance. I appeal to the Europeans to try once to live on the goodwill of the people and not seek to have their interests specially safeguarded or protected, which

would be the wrong way to go about the business. If they would live in India I would want them to live, I would beseech them to live, as one of us. In any case, I do feel that in any scheme to which the Congress can be party, there is no room for the protection of special interests. The special interests are automatically protected when you have got adult suffrage. So far as the Christians are concerned, if I may cite the testimony of one who is no longer with us, I know that he said, 'We want no special protection,' and I have letters from Christian organisations saying that they wanted no special protection, and that the special protection that they would get would be by right of humble service."

In his address at the luncheon of the Gandhi Society and the Indian Congress League, Gandhi speaks of the means by which the British are to be judged as possible benefactors of India. He makes no reference to the civilizing influence of Western culture, such as the conquest of disease, the establishment of communication, the provision of education, and so on through the many things that had been claimed for the credit of the Empire, because in his mind what counts is the practical here and now of conditions with the dumb millions, in part of course as in contrast with their prior condition, but much more importantly as in contrast with the progress of the unfortunate as well as the favored in other lands and areas under the British flag. This to him is the only possible measure of a government. Material welfare is important, but other things are far more vital. However, on the material side, "I have two infallible tests; Is it or is it not a fact that India today is the poorest country in the world having millions of people remaining idle for six months of the year? Is it or is it not a fact that India has been rendered emasculated not merely through compulsory disarmament but also through being denied so many opportunities that members of a free nation are always entitled to? If you find

upon investigation that in these two cases England has failed, I do not say hopelessly, but to a very large extent, is it not time that England revised her policy?" As for India, emulation of Western violence would be no answer. "We do not want the freedom of India to be bought at the sacrifice of the lives of others, to be achieved by spilling the blood of the rulers. But, if any sacrifice can be made by the nation, by ourselves, to win that freedom, then, you will find that we will not hesitate to give a Ganges full of blood to flow in India in order to obtain the freedom that has been so long delayed."

In speaking before the Minorities Committee of the Round Table Conference, Gandhi elevates the issues of political agreement to a level of the basic principles inherent in his own thinking. "It is with deep sorrow and deeper humiliation that I have to announce utter failure on my part to secure an agreed solution of the communal question through informal conversations among and with the representatives of different groups . . . My only consolation lies in the fact that when I accepted the burden of carrying on these talks, I knew that there was not much hope of success, and still more in the fact that I am not aware of having spared any effort to reach a solution. But, to say that the conversations have, to our utter shame, failed is not to say the whole truth. Causes of failure were inherent in the composition of the Indian delegation. We are almost all not elected representatives of the parties or groups whom we are presumed to represent, we are here by nomination of the Government. Nor are those whose presence was absolutely necessary for an agreed solution to be found here. Further, you will allow me to say that this was hardly the time to summon the Minorities Committee. It lacks the sense of reality in that we do not know what it is that we are going to get . . . The solution can be the crown of the Swaraj constitution . . . I

have not a shadow of a doubt that the iceberg of communal differences will melt under the warmth of the sun of freedom. I, therefore, venture to suggest that the Minorities Committee be adjourned *sine die* and that the fundamentals of the Constitution be hammered into shape as quickly as may be. Meanwhile, the informal work of discovering a true solution of the communal problem will and must continue."

Gandhi then presents the Congress program for the minorities. This in essence is a full guarantee of protection for cultures, languages, scripts, educative differences, religious professions and practices. It also is a very realistic preservation of the separate distinctiveness of any larger minority that might have to surrender its special genius if nationalized on the predominant Hindu pattern, or if forced to change its ways too quickly or too violently. Gandhi's spirit of continual adjustment again is marked, not as a political compromise to achieve a solution but as a practical means for working towards the elimination of whatever destructive lines might run through human society. Ultimately people are people, and religion is religion, but who in the world confronted by Gandhi in his lifetime was able in any effective fashion to live such an actual universality, let alone visualize it. The momentary phases in all human relations are part of experience, and so as Gandhi sees are never the whole truth. The fact that men are quickened to these problems and are led to a realization of necessities for a better life and opportunity means that progress can proceed. To freeze the life of India in a species of independence, within or without the British Commonwealth of Nations and divided or united, would be merely to trade one staticism under the stultifying British rule for another, under the equal stultification of a too rigid form of words or constitutional sterility. All this is implicit in what Gandhi says, but his approach is to the issue of the moment, no matter

how sensitive he may be to the ultimate and necessary end.

In talking about the Supreme Court before the Federal Structure Committee, he remarks that the discussions were proceeding, "if not upon utter distrust, upon considerable distrust of ourselves. It is assumed that the National Government will not be able to conduct its affairs in an impartial manner. The communal tangle also is colouring the discussion. The Congress, on the other hand, bases the whole of its policy on trust and on the confidence that when we shall have come into power we shall also come to a sense of our responsibility, and all the communal bias will drop out. But should it prove otherwise, then too the Congress would run the boldest risks, because, without running risks we shall not be able to come to exercise real responsibility. So long as we have the mental reservation that we have to rest upon some foreign power for our guidance and for conducting our affairs at a critical juncture, so long, in my opinion, there is no responsibility." Furthermore, "we really are trying to discuss this thing without knowing where we shall be. I should give one opinion if Defence was not under the control of the responsible Government, and another opinion if Defence was under our own control. I proceed upon the assumption that if we are to enjoy responsibility in the real sense of the term, Defence will be under our control, under National control in every sense of the term . . . It is all very well to have a judgment of the highest tribunal, but if the writ of that tribunal does not run beyond the confines of its own court, that tribunal will be a laughing-stock of the nation and of the whole world . . . In my opinion, the Supreme Court has to be, if we are responsible, under the responsible Government, and therefore, the process of carrying out the writ has also to be made good by the responsible Government . . . We fancy that this constitution is going to give us every

detail in connection with the composition of this Court. I respectfully differ from that view in its entirety. I think that this constitution will give us the framework of the Federal Court, will define the jurisdiction of the Federal Court, but the rest will be left to the Federal Government to evolve . . ." Freedom for India means freedom for India, not a partial freedom hedged in by the superior powers of a transcendental judiciary.

In his address at the last meeting of the Minorities Committee, Gandhi comes back to the basic conception of democracy, expressing his dissent from the view "that the inability to solve the communal question was hampering the progress of Constitution-building, and that it was an indispensable condition prior to the building of any such constitution. I expressed at an early stage of the sittings of this Committee that I did not share that view. The experience that I have since gained has confirmed me in that view and, if you will pardon me for saying so, it was because of the emphasis that was laid last year and repeated this year upon this difficulty, that the different communities were encouraged to press with all the vehemence at their command their own respective views. It would have been against human nature if they had done otherwise. All of them thought that this was the time to press forward their claims for all they were worth, and I venture to suggest again that this very emphasis has defeated the purpose which I have no doubt it had in view. This is the reason why we have failed to arrive at an agreement . . . I am quite certain that you did not convene this Round Table Conference and bring us all 6,000 miles away from homes and occupations to settle the communal question, but you convened us, you made deliberate declarations that we were invited to come here, to share the process of Constitution-building. You declared that before we went away from your hospitable shores, we should have the certain conviction that we had built up an honour-

able and a respectable framework for the freedom of India, and that it awaited only the *imprimatur* of the approval of the House of Commons and the House of Lords."

As far as the communal problem was concerned, Gandhi felt that the Congress proposal offered the most workable scheme. "I admit that it has not commended itself to the representatives of the communities at this table, but it has commended itself to the representatives of these very classes in India. It is not the creation of the brain, but it is the creation of a committee on which various important parties were represented. You have that scheme on behalf of the Congress; but the Congress has also suggested that there should be an impartial arbitration. Through arbitration all over the world people have adjusted their differences, and the Congress is always willing to accept any decision of an arbitration court. I have myself ventured to suggest that there might be appointed by the Government a judicial tribunal which would examine this case and give its decision. But, if none of these ways are acceptable and this is to be the *sine qua non* of any Constitution-building, then, I say, it will be much better for us that we should remain without so-called Responsible Government than that we should accept this scheme . . . the very negation of responsible Government, the very negation of nationalism. Heaven help India if India have representatives elected by these several special, cut up groups . . .

"I can understand the claims advanced by other Minorities, but the claims advanced on behalf of the untouchables, is to me the 'unkindest cut of all.' It means perpetual bar sinister. I would not sell the vital interests of the untouchables even for the sake of winning the freedom of India. I claim myself, in my own person, to represent the vast mass of the untouchables. Here I speak not merely on behalf of the Congress, but I speak on my own behalf, and I claim that I would get, if there

was a referendum of the untouchables, their vote, and that I would top the poll. And I would work from one end of India to the other to tell the untouchables that separate electorates and separate reservation is not the way to remove this bar sinister. Let this Committee and let the whole world know that today there is a body of Hindu reformers who feel that this is a shame, not of the untouchables, but of orthodox Hinduism, and they are, therefore, pledged to remove this blot of untouchability. We do not want on our register and on our census untouchables classified as a separate class. Sikhs may remain as such in perpetuity, so may Moslems, so may Europeans. Would untouchables remain untouchables in perpetuity? I would far rather that Hinduism died than that untouchability lived . . . I will not bargain away their rights for the kingdom of the whole world."

The sovereignty which Gandhi demanded for India, at once and uncompromisingly, would be, as in the case of any other country, largely certified by the right of the given people to organize and conduct their own defence. His talk on this subject was delivered to the Federal Structure Committee, and after some preliminary observations he points out that a nation which "has no control over her own Defence Forces and over her External Affairs, is hardly a responsible nation. If a nation's Defence is controlled by an outside agency, no matter how friendly it is, then that nation is certainly not responsibly governed. This is what our English teachers have taught us times without number, and therefore, some Englishmen twitted me also when they heard the talk that we would have responsible Government but we would not have or would not claim control over our own Defence Forces . . . If we do not get this control at the time of embarking upon responsibility because we are not deemed fit for it, I cannot conceive a time when, because we are enjoying responsibility in other matters, we would be suddenly found fit

to control our own Defence Forces. I would like this Committee, for just a few brief moments, to understand what this Army at the present moment means. This Army, in my opinion, whether it is Indian or whether it is British, is really an Army of Occupation. It does not matter to us that they are Sikhs, or that they are Gurkhas or that they are Pathans or that they are men from Madras or that they are Rajputs; no matter who they are, they are foreigners to me whilst they are in that Army, controlled by an alien government. I cannot speak to them . . . Unlike any other country in the world, there is absolutely no intercourse between them and the ordinary civil population."

This is not a true or proper representation of India. "After all, India is not a nation which has never known how to defend herself. There is all the material there. There are the Musalmans, standing in no dread of foreign invasion. The Sikhs will refuse to think that they can be conquered by anybody. The Gurkha, immediately he develops the national mind, will say: 'Alone, I can defend India.' Then there are the Rajputs who are supposed to be responsible for a thousand Thermopylae . . . Do these people stand in need of learning the arts of defence? I assume that, if I shoulder the burden of responsibility, all these people are going to join hands. I am here writhing in agony to see that we have not yet come to terms on the communal question; but whenever the communal settlement comes, it must presuppose that we are going to trust each other. Whether the rule is predominantly Musalman or Sikh or Hindu, they will not rule as Hindus or Musalmans or Sikhs, but they will rule as Indians. If we have distrust of one another, then, we want British people there, if we do not want to be killed by one another. But then let us not talk of Responsible Government."

The problems of economic clashes within the state, and the necessity for placing India upon a self-sufficient

basis in a largely mechanized world, do not involve fundamental principles other than those underlying every other problem discussed by Gandhi or entering into his thoughts. Here as always, however, he sees a necessity for the same practical approach to a living situation in the light of an end result which in its turn means a full opportunity for the budding personality of each individual. This is brought out particularly at another talk before the Federal Structure Committee, in which he explains that he wishes to associate himself "completely with the British merchants and European houses in their legitimate demand that there should be no racial discrimination" in business relationships. "I, who had to fight the great South African Government for over 20 years in order to resist their colour bar and their discriminating legislation directed against Indians as such, could be no party to discrimination of that character against the British friends who are at present in India, or who may in future seek entry. I speak on behalf of the Congress also. The Congress too holds the same view . . . I propose here to draw no distinction whatever between Britishers or other Europeans or Americans or Japanese. I would not copy the model of the British Colonies or the British Dominions which have, in my humble opinion, disfigured their Statute Books by importing legislation essentially based upon distinctions of colour and race.

"India free, I would love to think, would give a different kind of lesson and set a different kind of example to the whole world. I would not wish India to live a life of complete isolation whereby it would live in watertight compartments and allow nobody to enter her borders or to trade within her borders. But, having said that, I have in my own mind many things that I would have to do in order to equalise conditions. I am afraid that for years to come India would be engaged in passing legislation in order to raise the downtrodden, the

fallen, from the mire into which they have been sunk by the capitalists, by the landlords, by the so-called higher classes, and then, subsequently and scientifically, by the British rulers. If we are to lift these people from the mire, then it would be the bounden duty of the National Government of India, in order to set its house in order, continually to give preference to these people and even free them from the burdens under which they are being crushed. And, if the landlords, zamindars, monied men and those who are today enjoying privileges—I do not care whether they are Europeans or Indians—if they find that they are discriminated against, I shall sympathise with them, but I will not be able to help them, even if I could possibly do so, because I would seek their assistance in that process, and without their assistance it would not be possible to raise these people out of the mire.

“Look at the condition, if you will, of the untouchables, if the law comes to their assistance and sets apart miles of territory. At the present moment they hold no land; they are absolutely living at the mercy of the so-called higher castes, and also, let me say, at the mercy of the State. They can be removed from one quarter to another without complaint and without being able to seek the assistance of law. Well, the first act of the Legislature will then be to see that in order somewhat to equalise conditions, these people are given grants freely. From whose pockets are these grants to come? Not from the pockets of Heaven. Heaven is not going to drop money for the sake of the State. They will naturally come from the monied classes, including the Europeans. Will they say that this is discrimination? They will be able to see that this is no discrimination against them because they are Europeans; it will be discrimination against them because they have got money and the others have got no money. It will be, therefore, a battle between the haves and the have-nots; and if that is what

is feared, I am afraid the National Government will not be able to come into being if all these classes hold the pistol at the heads of these dumb millions and say: You shall not have a Government of your own unless you guarantee our possessions and our rights . . .

“Therefore, I appeal to our European friends that they should withdraw this idea of safeguarding their rights : . . A poor undeveloped country like India is not to be judged as a highly developed individualist Island like Great Britain may be. What is good for Great Britain today is, in my opinion, in many respects poison for India. India has got to develop her own economics, her own policy, her own method of dealing with her industries and everything else. Therefore, so far as the key industries are concerned, I am afraid that not merely the Britishers but many will feel that they are not having fair play. But I do not know what is the meaning of ‘fair play’ against a State. And then about Coastal Shipping, the Congress undoubtedly has the greatest sympathy with the desire to develop that trade; but if in the Bill about the coastal trade, there is any discrimination against Europeans as such, I will join hands with the Europeans and fight that Bill or the proposal which discriminates against Englishmen because they are Englishmen. But there are those vast interests that have come into being. I have traveled fairly frequently up the great river ways of Bengal and I have traveled years ago up the Irrawaddy. I know something of that trade. By concessions, privileges, favours, whatever you call them, these huge corporations have built up industries, built up companies, and built up a trade which does not admit of any opposition whatsoever.

“Some of you may have heard of a budding company between Chittagong and Rangoon. The Directors of that Company, poor struggling Musalmans, came to me in Rangoon and asked me if I could do anything. My whole heart went out to them, but there was nothing to

be done. What could be done? There is the mighty British India Steam Navigation Company simply underselling this budding company and practically taking the passengers without any passage money at all. I could quote instance after instance of that character. It is not because it is a British company. If it were an Indian company that had usurped this thing it would be the same. Supposing an Indian company was taking away capital, as today we have Indians who instead of investing their capital in India invest their capital or invest their monies outside India. Imagine that there was a huge Indian Corporation that was taking away all its profits and investing them in some other parts of the world, fearing that the National Government was not going along a correct policy, and therefore, in order to keep their money intact, they were taking away that money outside. Go a little step further with me and say that these Indian Directors in order to organise in a most scientific and finished and perfect manner brought all the European skill that they could bring there and did not allow these struggling corporations to come into being, I would certainly have something to say and have legislation in order to protect the companies like the Chittagong company."

The matter of finances led to another address by Gandhi before this same committee, interesting as a further illustration of his thinking in economic realms. "The Congress has never suggested, as it has been viciously suggested against it, that one single farthing of national obligations should ever be repudiated by the Congress. What the Congress has, however, suggested is that some of the obligations, which are supposed to belong to India, ought not to be saddled upon India and should be taken over by Great Britain . . . You, My Lord, were . . . concerned with the credit of India outside the borders of India, that the investors who supplied capital to India and who brought their money to

India at reasonable rates of interest would not be satisfied if there were not safeguards . . . that when there were any investments in India from here, or when there were any monies sent to India, it was not to be supposed that they were not also for the interest of India . . . I have within my own experience several illustrations where I could show that the interests of India were not in those particular illustrations identical with the interests of Great Britain, that the two were in conflict, and that therefore, we could not possibly say that every time there were loans from Great Britain, they were in the interest of India. Take, for instance, so many wars. Take the wars of Afghanistan. As a young man I read with great avidity the history of wars in Afghanistan . . . and I have a vivid recollection left on my mind that most of these wars were certainly not in the interests of India; and not only that, but that the Governor-General had bungled over these wars . . .

"I feel somehow or other that if Indian Finance was properly managed, entirely in the interests of India, we should not be subject to fluctuations as seriously as we are today in the foreign market, the fluctuations in London. I want to give you my reason for it. When I first became acquainted with the writing of Sir Daniel Hamilton I approached him with considerable diffidence and hesitation. I knew nothing practically of Indian finance, I was absolutely new to the subject but, he with his zeal insisted upon my studying the papers that he continued to send me. As we all know, he has large interests in India, he has himself held offices of importance and is himself an able financier. He is today making experiments himself along the lines he has suggested, but this is the one striking thought that he has placed before all who would care to understand his mode of looking at Indian finance, when he says that India does not need to look to the gold standard or to the silver standard or to any metallic standard, India has metal all

its own, and he says that that consists in her innumerable countless million of labourers. It is true that the British Government has not declared itself insolvent in connection with Indian Finance, that it has been, up to now, able to pay the way; but at what cost? It has been at the cost of the cultivator, the money has been squeezed from the cultivator. Instead of thinking in terms of rupees, if the authorities had consulted and thought of finance in terms of these masses, they could have managed the affairs of India infinitely better than they have hitherto done, they would not then have been obliged to fall back upon foreign market. Everybody recognises, and British financiers have told us, that for nine years out of ten India has always a favourable balance.

"That is to say, whenever India has, what may be called, an eight anna or ten anna year, eight annas is really enough to give her a favourable balance. Then India produces through bountiful nature, from Mother Earth, more than enough to pay for all her obligations, and more than for all the imports that she may ever require. If it is true, and I hold that it is true, a country like India does not really need to fall back upon the foreign capitalist. She has been made to fall back upon the foreign capitalist because of the enormous drain that has taken place from India in order to pay what are called the 'home charges,' in order to pay the terrific charges for India's Defence . . . I want to go a step further. It is known that these millions of cultivators remain idle for six months in the year. If the British Government saw to it that these men would not remain idle for six months in the year, imagine the wealth that they would produce. Why should we then need ever to fall back upon the foreign market? That is how the whole idea of finance appears before me, a layman, a man who continually thinks of these masses and wants to feel as they would feel. They would say we have all the labour therefore, we do not want to fall back upon any foreign

capital. So long as we labour, the whole world would want the products of our labour. And it is true, the world today wants the products of our labour. We would be able to produce those things that the world would voluntarily and willingly take from us. That has been the condition of India of ages past."

A further talk before the Federal Structure Committee deals with the question of the provinces and their special autonomy, and it is particularly significant in connection with the final events of Gandhi's life, since he expresses himself here on the futility of terrorism as in contrast say with civil disobedience or the method of non-violence. India is not and never has been a unit in any real functional sense. Its heterogeneous masses constitute a fifth of the world's population, and comprise innumerable discordant elements. What is to be done, as far as these ramifying distinctions are concerned? The answer of Gandhi again is to take a full account of the living situation, as it is met in each special instance, but to consider no basic or ultimate compromise with the universal unity or larger vision in which India's true genius may flourish. As for the "threat of provincial autonomy divorced from central responsibility . . . 'Fools walk in where Angels fear to tread.' Not having had any experience of administration actually I felt that if the Provincial Autonomy was the Provincial Autonomy of my conception I for one would not mind handling the fruit, feeling the thing, and seeing whether it really answered my purpose. I love to meet friends who may be opponents in policy on their own platform and find out their difficulties, and find out also whether what they are offering is likely to lead one to the same place, and in that spirit and in that sense I ventured to discuss Provincial Autonomy, but I found at once on discussion that what they meant was certainly not the Provincial Autonomy that I meant, and so I told my friends also that I would be quite safe if

they left me alone, that I was not going to sell the interests of the country out of a foolish conception of Provincial Autonomy, or out of impatience to get something for the country . . .

"I want to take for my illustration Bengal, because it is one of the Provinces today in India which is deeply affected. I know that there is a terrorist school active in Bengal. Everybody ought to realise by this time that I can have no manner of sympathy with that terrorist school in any shape or form. I am as convinced as I have ever been that terrorism is the worst kind of action that any reformer can take up. Terrorism is the very worst thing for India in a special manner, because India is a foreign soil for terrorism to flourish in. I am convinced that those young Indians who are giving their lives for what they consider to be a good cause are simply throwing away their lives, and that they are not bringing the country one inch nearer the goal, which is common, I hope, to us all. I am convinced of all these things, but, having been convinced of them, supposing that Bengal had Provincial Autonomy today, what would Bengal do? Bengal would set free every one of the detainees, an Autonomous Bengal would not hunt down the terrorists, but would try to reach them and convert them. I should approach them with every confidence and wipe out terrorism from Bengal. But let me go a little step further, in order to drive home the truth that is in me. If Bengal was autonomous, that autonomy itself would really remove terrorism from Bengal, because these terrorists foolishly consider that their action is the shortest cut to freedom; but, having attained their freedom, the terrorism would cease . . .

"So that you see what is my conception of Provincial Autonomy. All these things would be impossible; I would not allow a single soldier to enter the Province of Bengal; I would not pay a single farthing for the upkeep of an Army which I may not command . . . If it is

Provincial Autonomy, then it is independence for Bengal precisely in the same manner as the Responsible Government I have seen growing up in Natal. That is a little colony, but it had its own independent existence; it had its own volunteer force and so on. You do not contemplate that thing for Bengal or any of these Provinces. It will be the Centre still dictating, still ruling, still doing all these things. That is not the Provincial Autonomy of my conception. That was why I said if you present me with that live Provincial Autonomy, I shall be prepared to consider that proposition; but I am also convinced that that autonomy is not coming . . . I have been brought here specially through that very pact in which it is written in so many words that I was coming here to discuss and to receive really responsibility at the Centre: Federation with all its responsibility—safeguards undoubtedly—but safeguards in the interests of India. I have said in season and out of season that I would consider every safeguard that is necessary . . . It hurts me, it pains me, that all this precious time of British Ministers, of the nation and of all these Indians who have come here, should have been wasted . . . What I fear is . . . that nothing at all is going to come out of this thing but terrible repression in India.

“I do not mind that repression; repression will only do us good. If we have repression in the right time, I will consider that also as a very fine outcome of this Conference. Repression has never done harm to a single nation which is sailing for her destined goal with a fixed determination . . . But what I fear is that the slender thread which I had again built up of co-operation with the British people and with British Ministers is about to snap and that I should again declare myself a convinced non-co-operator and civil resister—that I should redeliver this message of non-co-operation and civil resistance to the millions of India, no matter how many air balloons will float over India or how many tanks will

be brought to India. They will have no result. You do not know today that they produce no results even upon the tender young children. We teach them to dance with joy when bullets are flying about them like so many crackers. We teach them to suffer for the freedom of their country. I do not despair. I do not think that because nothing happens here there will be chaos in the land; not so long as Congress remains untarnished and non-violence goes forward throughout the length and breadth of India undiminished. I have been told so often that it is the Congress that is responsible for this terrorism. I take this opportunity of denying that with all the strength at my command. On the contrary, I have evidence to show that it is the Congress creed of non-violence which up to now has kept the forces of terrorism in check. I regret we have not succeeded to the fullest extent, but as time goes on we hope to succeed. It is not as if this terrorism can bring freedom to India . . .

“Wanting that freedom for the masses I know that this terrorism can do no good whatsoever. Whilst on the one hand Congress will fight British authority and its terrorism legalised, so also will Congress fight terrorism, illegal, on the part of youth . . . I know I must go back and yet invite the nation to a course of suffering . . . I have told you what I mean by Provincial Autonomy and what would really satisfy me . . . I feel convinced that real Provincial Autonomy is an impossibility unless there is responsibility at the Centre, or unless you are prepared to so weaken the Centre that the provinces will be able to dictate to the Centre. I know that you are not prepared today to do this. I know that this Conference does not conceive a weak Centre but a strong one, when this Federal Government is brought into being. A strong Centre governed and administered by an alien authority, and a strong autonomy, are a contradiction in terms. Hence, I feel that Provincial Auton-

omy and Central Responsibility have, really speaking, to go together. But, I say again that I have an open mind. If somebody will convince me that there is Provincial Autonomy, such as I have conceived for instance for Bengal, available, I would grasp it."

Gandhi's statesmanship thus stands revealed as a willingness to participate in any open-minded and piecemeal program leading to India's independence, but an absolute refusal to compromise the goal by accepting any continuance of British overlordship as embodied irrevocably in a new federal structure, or as preserved more insidiously by a divide-and-rule recognition of India's factions as necessarily and permanently discrete. In the speech which he delivered at the plenary session of the Round Table Conference he re-emphasized his long-range point of view, insisting again that the Congress alone represented the whole of India and its interests, and stressing the opposition both of himself and of the Congress to the old methods and the old ideals on which the civilized world had been proceeding with none-too-great credit to itself. He well realized that he spoke for the record only, since another decade or more of satyagraha—aided however fortuitously by the rise of the labor government in England and the almost complete exhaustion of Europe under the stress of World War II—would be needed to give India her liberty. Gandhi's ideas, in the meanwhile and under the challenge of every blind and selfish interest at home and abroad, were brought into the sharp outline which has preserved them for his own generation and ever thereafter.

THREE

GANDHI THE AVATAR

There is a rather common tendency to view Gandhi from either one of the two extremes which destroy every central perspective of the man and his impact upon his age, that is, either exalting his spirituality and hardly seeing him as human at all, or else discounting the religious motivations in his life altogether. While some writers have pointed out that it is impossible to understand him unless the role of religion in his life is given an almost pre-eminent place in his attitude and thinking, there is no agreement among them as to just what is meant by religion. The absence of any clear definition was reflected in Gandhi himself when he said, on one occasion, "Most religious men I have met are politicians in disguise. I, however, who wear the guise of a politician, am at heart a religious man." Superficially, perhaps, he is to be classified as a social reformer. His greatest practical interest, in his own words, was in the dumb millions of India. He has at no point offered a clarification of religious values or theological principles as such. He has made no essentially religious appeal to his fellow Indians, or to the world at large, but instead he has shaped every act and exhortation in political, ethical and economic terms. Thus it is quite possible to consider his references to God and spiritual actualities as no more than a language for a fundamentally humanistic endeavor, a purely personal and subjective devoutness.

At the same time there are literally millions, especially in India herself, who look upon him as essentially the great prophet or light-bringer. Prime Minister Nehru,

on Gandhi's assassination, seemed to speak out of this framework when he exclaimed, "The light has gone out." Those who know India best, and realize the indissoluble linking at all points in Indian consciousness between humanistic and spiritual values, understand well enough that human existence in a Hindu milieu becomes in every possible respect a religious life. But what this means to the individual is beyond any clear mode of expression in the ways of thinking that are normal to the Western world. However, Gandhi was most wholeheartedly received in the West—at least as an intellectual and social equal—by those individuals and groups who were most essentially religious by inclination and motivation in their practical or everyday living. He stood a figure apart among the statesmen. It was the Theosophists who gave the young lawyer his most congenial haven in his student days, and in 1931 he was entertained by a figure of great Christian significance in the more spiritual walks of the Western world, Miss Muriel Lester. It is Miss Lester who makes the parallel between Kingsley Hall, her establishment in Bow, and Gandhi's own spiritual household in India. Referring to these establishments as the two ashramas in a book relating her experiences as Gandhi's hostess (*Entertaining Gandhi*, London, Ivor Nicholson and Watson, 1932) she describes her own enterprise as a center of fellowship. It was located in an industrial section of East London and was operated, as she explains, "for the most part by the people of its neighbourhood who work out their own salvation, educationally, socially and spiritually."

There were no lines of class, nationality or creed at Kingsley Hall. Everyone worked together, busy with the chores and joining in the religious observances and general activities. In Miss Lester's judgment the strength of this Western ashrama lay in the continual "practice of the presence of God" with the conviction that this was an effort towards an actual establishment

of the Kingdom of God on earth. She recalls her own stay, with perhaps two hundred of Gandhi's followers, at the Sabarmati River in India, a group comprising men, women and children who all followed a very similar and equally simple rule of life. Thus all class and other distinctions were missing, as were sectarian labels. There was a similar joy in the voluntary poverty, in the breaking down of artificial barriers among mankind, as well as in what she felt to be a "sure hold on reality" as the result of constant prayer. She writes with charm and humor, and also with an observant eye which sees the very close parallel between East and West when once the matter of individual living is brought down to the utterly basic values of an eternal nature. Here Gandhi is seen from the extreme of a purely religious view, with his statesmanship relegated to the background, indeed virtually ignored. It is interesting to Miss Lester that she could, in India, attend lectures by Gandhi on the Sermon on the Mount, and that many of those who participated there had Christian Bibles. She found that the Indian ashrama, no less than its counterpart in London, had *New Testament* pictures on the wall, although in the East there were more flowers. Moreover, a burning of incense and Eastern music accompanied Gandhi's exposition of Jesus. Gandhi's work as seen through her eyes is almost more a withdrawal from the world than a leavening of its humanity.

When World War I broke out in 1914, the members of Kingsley Hall had taken a firm pacifist stand, with resulting persecutions or—in Miss Lester's gentle description—they found themselves "extraordinarily unpopular," and involved in an unpleasantness which "enlivened our days." Ten years later she had found the participants in Gandhi's ashrama in India quite amazed to learn that those who held to a strict spiritual way of life could face an organized opposition and ostracism no less bitter in England, where the British

Enlightenment presumably had established the widest possible freedom for mankind, than in India, where a downtrodden people might be presumed to have a more general portion of the same for their expected lot. Miss Lester was able to tell the Indians of many groups throughout the Western world who lived and suffered for the values to which Gandhi was then giving expression. Because of such parallels it is probable that the discipline of the Eastern ashrama has its clearest picture for Western eyes through Miss Lester's sympathetic exposition.

She was particularly interested in the five basic vows, the first of which is that of non-violence. This is the principle to which all pacifists subscribe, and for which she and her own associates, as she likes to have them designated, had suffered or were prepared to suffer as bitterly as anyone in India. Then there was the vow of the purity of the palate, which means that man was not to put himself in bondage to his appetites, but was only to indulge himself as necessary to keep himself in good health and fine spirits. Miss Lester found the Indians quite superior to the workers at Kingsley Hall in respect to this ideal, since the people in Bow as she puts it "like food," although so plain that an invitation out to tea, dinner or supper was always accepted very gratefully. The third vow is chastity, as she identifies it, or continence more accurately, since complete abstinence from sex was believed to be the only possible means of real revolt against the ancient customs of child marriage in India, and against the debasement of womankind as practiced in one way or another throughout the world. The fourth vow, to hold always to the truth, seemed of particular importance to Miss Lester because she felt it to be Gandhi's most significant offering toward a purification of politics and a move to world-wide peace. For the frontispiece of her book she uses a picture of Gandhi at work, as sketched while he was in England,

and this presents his signature with his motto "Truth is God" above it. Kingsley Hall always insisted upon a frankness of living, a clean revelation of every motive of self in every dealing with others. Miss Lester believed that when human individuals could act honestly, without fear of consequences, much of the difficulty on the international scene would disappear. To the religious mind reform begins with the individual.

The last vow is that of non-theft which Miss Lester explains as an effort on the part of Gandhi's followers to live simply, to own nothing but the absolute essentials of existence, in order to function within the average income of the Indian people, or five cents a day, and so lead the way for all. She remarks that this average for India is derived by taking into account the immense income of the maharajahs, as well as the lush earnings of the many new-born industrialists, and so is far more than the typical common man would ever receive. She quotes Gandhi's insistence upon the fact that every one of his followers in India remember the unbroken and functional ties that link each of them with everyone else in India. She reports one occasion when he addressed the especially patriotic student body of the Benares Hindu University. "You are justly proud of your university and you are very happy here. You like to think that all you are enjoying is the gift of your own race, that for your learning you are indebted to no alien government, to none but Indian benefactors. But I tell you you are mistaken. You are deeply in debt to the poorest peasant. It is the ryots who keep you and clothe you and feed you. It is the poor who built these splendid halls. This place was created by the blood and sweat of workmen. You will never be free of your debt to them unless, when you leave here, you devote the rest of your life to their service."

Miss Lester brings into contrast with Gandhi's teaching the experiences of the people at Kingsley Hall in

their independent arrival at the same basic principle. They had come to ask how they could kneel together at the Communion Table where the great gift of God to man was commemorated, when at other times these supposed fellows of the spirit had the extraordinarily disparate experiences of well-served and faultless meals for some, and for some tea, bread and oleo, sparingly shared, in a back room as cold as only rooms in England can be cold. Voluntary poverty or *New Testament* communism was something other than a martyr's false pride, a presumptuous laying of a claim on heaven by the self-seeking renunciation thoroughly enjoyed in the here and now. It was a version of true social sharing developed at Kingsley Hall, a religious insight in the light of which Miss Lester was able to understand what Gandhi's followers were accomplishing under infinitely more difficult circumstances. Their economic self-depression in the light of the social necessities laid upon India by British exploitation was not a gesture of self-seeking or solipsistic joying in an inner light, but the practical approach to enthroning man in his own dignity by giving him a square and sufficient foundation within the very community limitations that more superficially might seem to bind him and defeat him forever. This seemed to be religion in its practical expression primarily, and so political reform only most remotely.

In the schools set up under Gandhi's guidance, where self-respect was the basis of everything, all lines of discrimination had been eliminated and a new social order had been launched on the basis of the main theme in his social thinking, namely, that each individual in a healthy society himself creates the whole of that in which he participates, and that he is able to share fully with his fellows because each of them in turn no less creates the whole and shares with him. Anything seen through the eyes of a Muriel Lester, as here, will

be found framed in a perspective of religion as social action and economic revolution. It is a communism at once alike and yet utterly unlike the parallel movement for the common man which has had its inception and growth in the work of Marx, Lenin and the various apostolic successions stemming back to the Marxist foundation. Any subjective extremism is corrected by the personal practicality of each day's living.

Gandhi has always been perfectly frank, as far as his own religious philosophy is concerned. He has admitted that Christianity at one time appealed to him very greatly, indeed, his great lean upon Christian ideas and Christian sources has been the root of much difficulty he has encountered among his own people. The Christian religion, however, neither in its practice nineteen hundred years after its inauguration nor in its early and more simple expression as recorded in the Gospels and in *Acts*, proved to be the answer for him. He came to see, as in his socio-economic thinking and philosophical realization generally, that when it comes to faith an individual is no less the consummation of his roots, with his spiritual potentialities equally a matter of spread in terms of the skills and capacities of his race and cultural kind. It cannot be overemphasized, however, that this is not nationalism, psychological aristocracy or intellectual sectarianism, but is the simple and to Gandhi the perfectly obvious fact that no one is actually anything other than the strands of experience which converge in and through him. A true religion calls upon everyone to make constructive use of the experience that is given in the normal course of personal development. A genuine spiritual psychology holds that man is responsible for the refinement of himself into whatever he finds himself to be.

An ingrained suspicion of every regression in reality away from the point of focus in immediate responsibility and opportunity seems a basic characteristic of

Gandhi's mind. He has seen the green pastures fallacy set all too many Indians to an aping of Western civilization, and to what often has been a consequent boot-licking of the British, which is as disgusting on the one side as on the other must ever be the spectacle of Europeans rushing to India and seeking somehow or other to get closer to the eternal spiritual truths of the Vedanta and Eastern philosophy by an equally unseemly toadying to the alien and unfamiliar. Nothing is stronger in Gandhi's thinking than the sacredness of personal, family, national and cultural inheritance, and the underlying obligation that the very nature of his being lays upon every individual to prefer at root the products and the values of his own kind and his nearest fellows. A pursuit of the more exotic things that perhaps exalt the ego only sharpens lines of distinction and separation, and encourages all the other evils that come in train with privileges and preferences claimed or gained on any basis other than mutual sharing. Jesus insisted that he was a Jew, that he was bringing his message to Jews primarily, and that he had nothing in mind but a fulfillment of the Torah. Sooner or later it was inevitable that Gandhi, despite his eclectic temperament, would discover that he must be a Hindu to be himself at all.

It was fortunate for Gandhi that the genius of Hinduism itself, as of Buddhism out of it and after it, is an enormous capacity for assimilation. What he retained of Christianity he could build easily enough into the Hindu structure. He was a critical Hindu, discarding what offended his moral sense and using that process of selection which in most realms of life other than religion is regarded as good sense and a sign of intelligence. But he remained a Hindu, and professed Hinduism very definitely in his confession of faith quoted by R. M. Gray and Manilal C. Parekh (*Builders of Modern India: Mahatma Gandhi*, London, Student Christian Movement, 1924).

I call myself a Sanatani Hindu, because:

(1) I believe in the Vedas, the Upanishads, the Puranas, and all that goes by the name of Hindu Scriptures, and therefore in the avatars and re-birth.

(2) I believe in the Varnashrama Dharma (caste) in a sense, in my opinion, strictly Vedic, but not in its present popular and crude sense.

(3) I believe in the protection of the cow in a much larger sense than the popular.

(4) I do not disbelieve in idol-worship.

The belief in the Vedas (a collection of hymns, rituals and early animistic insights), the Upanishads (the rise of a philosophical exposition or species of theology), and the Puranas (a still later and more intellectualized approach to scientific and theological knowledge) would include also the great products of the Epic period in the refinement of Hinduism, or specifically the *Mahabharata*, including the Bhagavad-Gita, or most popular and widely known Scripture in this whole vast collection of materials, and the *Ramayana*. What Gandhi means, of course, is that he accepts this as a valid history of human development from a blind ignorance in the early evolution of religious consciousness on to a direct realization of invisible, spiritual and eternal values as these are refined in an individual's own experiment. Here is a record of man's trial and error in attempting to reach a balance between his physical heritage and his spiritual promise. Gandhi, of course, by the same token would accept the Hebrew-Christian Scriptures, or any similar group of writings and traditions that have come to be hallowed as the same history of the same struggle of man under other circumstances, whether as an individual, a nation or a race at large.

Most characteristic of Hinduism—as in contrast with the more familiar Western religions, or the more

ethically slanted forms of faith in the Farther East, or indeed with the highly critical and much more intellectual aspects of Buddhism and Jainism when taken out of their framing in the essentially Hindu or Brahmanistic conceptions—are the two great doctrines mentioned by Gandhi. Giving initial consideration to the second of these, or the rebirth widely known in the Western world where it is usually termed reincarnation, it is to be distinguished from the metempsychosis with which it is confused and which often accepts the possibility that the soul of man can pass into an animal body, or any lesser form of life, thus cutting across the boundaries of basic species and defeating the alternating cycles of between-life and in-life states of growth and experience. Gandhi at this point holds close to the conception popularized in Western lands by the Theosophists. His death, therefore, differs markedly from that of Socrates and Jesus, where there was a clear conception of a passing over into another state of being, but no expectation of a return to earthly existence in such a fashion. Gandhi here, as everywhere else, insists upon doing his own thinking. He exhibits little if any concern over the question of his possible identity in a past life. Rather he is interested first, last and above everything else in the dumb millions of his India. The degree that he can serve them is dependent upon what he is. What he was may be much explanation of what he is, but what he was can only be measured in terms of what he is, and so any effort to trace what he was would be academic and of no use in the grim business of bringing freedom to the Indian peoples.

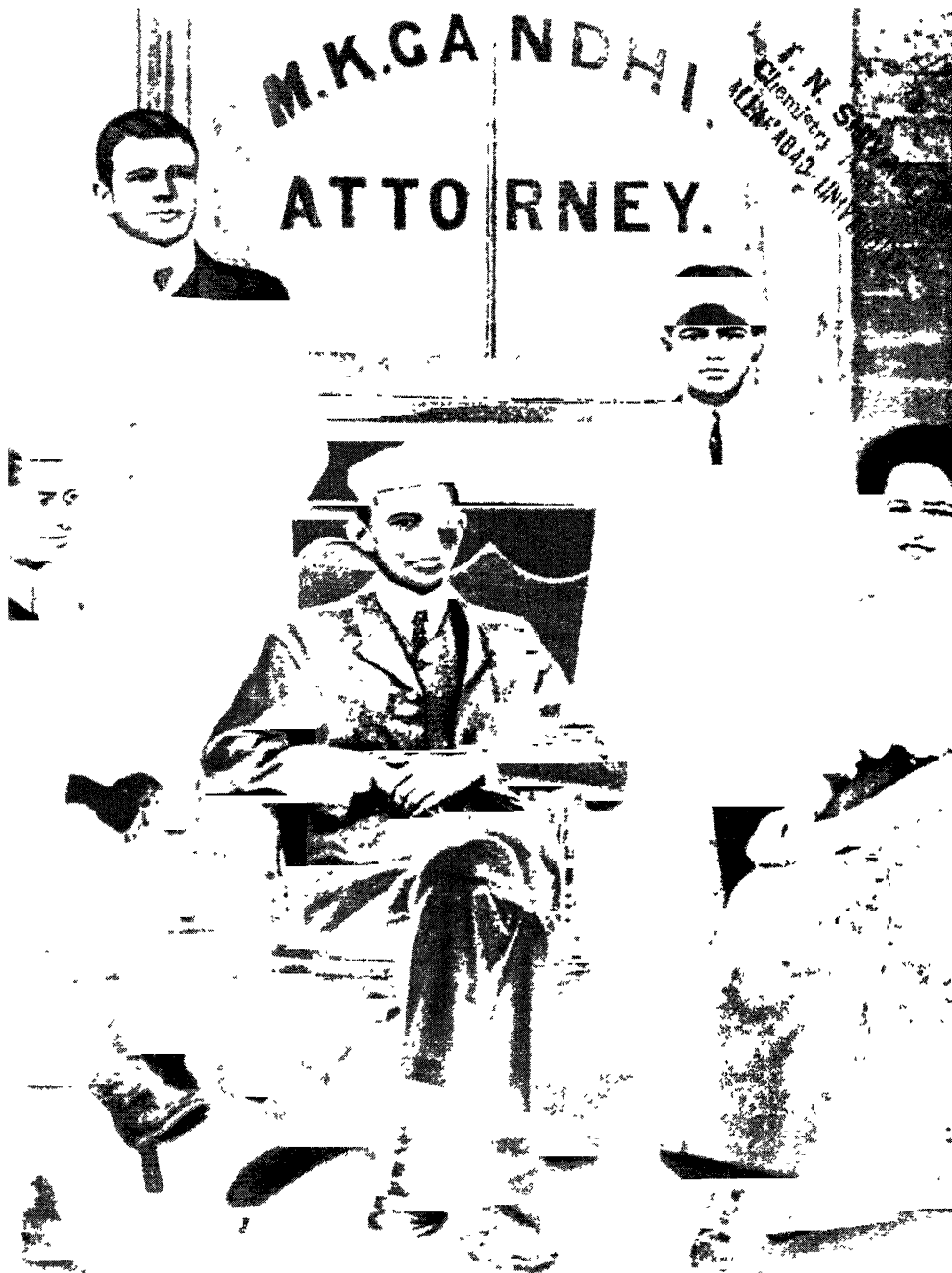
The point of view central in Gandhi's ideas is illuminated much more effectively by a clear understanding of the other of the two doctrines he affirms, that of avatars. This superficially is the belief in the descent of divinity to earth, to become embodied in man as in the objective appearance of Vishnu through Krishna and

many others, but to the keenly philosophical mind of the Hindu thinker it is a much more important dramatization of the fact that deity has no reality whatsoever except as it is possible to take human form. Whereas the Christian religion stresses the idea of the divine sacrifice and the substitute, the Eastern concept has stressed the same realization from its other pole, namely, that of human participation in divinity. God lives among men because men are capable, as men, of entertaining God. This is the whole insight behind Gandhi's ashrama, and responsible for Muriel Lester's Kingsley Hall. God comes to man whenever men summarize or typify God in their acts, their thoughts, their attitudes and ultimately their persons. The comparisons of Gandhi with Jesus are based upon this conception of the avatar. The great spiritual leaders of mankind are those rare individuals over the many thousands of years who somehow are able to epitomize every highest aspiration of human kind in their own immediate flesh-and-blood persons.

Some of the more abstruse Eastern thinking develops a hierarchy of souls in invisible or spiritual realms, and takes the avatar as the greatest among them, designated to embody himself as the light of a given age and thereby to favor that age with its own graciousness. To Gandhi this would be of a piece with the notion that Western man with his mechanical civilization is divinely appointed to civilize the Easterner, and to bring the blessings of the machine to him, however much this man of the East may be exploited in the process. The smugness involved bears none of the marks of divinity or its works. Gandhi's life shows, rather, that an individual like himself is an avatar to the extent he can provide his fellows with a rallying point for their ideals. It is not what he is, but what he helps others to be, that counts. If he stands at the forefront as the leader, or a light, the circumstance only means that these others have called this forth from him, and continue to do so. Gandhi did

not feel a compassion for the dumb millions of India in the sense of one who was a better deciding to be gracious in the interests of those who were of a lesser order, but instead he felt all these lives flowing through him in a species of universal oneness. The aspiration of human living, surging up from the Untouchables and from the worst of dwarfed souls in the utmost squalor of poverty, unhappiness and sheer debasement, became in his ashrama a beauty, a hope and a message. It is in this way alone that Gandhi is in truth an avatar, and if the generations to come can lift up this message, and dramatize it with greater and greater effectiveness, then it is not beyond the bounds of possibility that in history the Mahatma of just yesterday's flesh may live indeed as another Krishna, a Buddha or Christ.

With these considerations in mind it becomes very important to note that Gandhi believes in *Varnashrama Dharma*, which in simple Western terms ends up as the Christian idea of stewardship or the dedication of individual skills and capacities to the whole of humanity. Probably Plato in his *Republic*, although there often writing with his tongue in his cheek and his eye on Sparta, shows the functional type of caste which Gandhi explains as strictly Vedic. Human differences are not to be averaged out in the ideal society, but rather are to be enhanced and put to work. This is the simple difference between Gandhi's message and the overliteralizations of Marx and the modern Communists, presenting fundamentally the community of skills found throughout nature. Things of like nature operate together in a mutual interest, and this is a necessity to successful co-operations on the human level no less than anywhere else. Thus Gandhi sees no reason to Hinduize England, or Christianize India. If a group in England prefers to shape its insight through Hindu ideas, or in India a fellowship is developed to utilize Christian concepts, all is to the good as long as the part fits into the whole. The



Gandhi's first success, South Africa about 1916, seen with his legal staff.



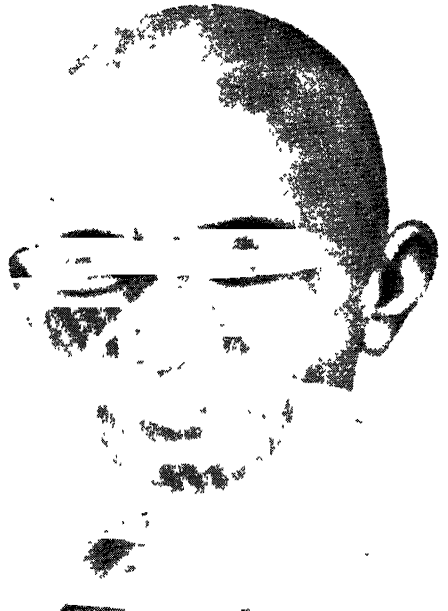
Gandhi, the radical, still in Western garb, addressing his countrymen in Calcutta, May, 1919.



Kasturba (Mrs. Gandhi) in earlier and later years, Gandhi is seen in his early fifties



Gandhi with Rabindranath Tagore, at the poet's home in Bombay, December, 1921.
Below: Gandhi in the Twenties as (left) author of Civil Disobedience and (right)
serving his first prison sentence in India.





The idol of his people; Gandhi reviews Hindustani volunteers at the Indian National Congress, 1925 Below: The Mahatma's own handwriting.

Dear friend,

As at The Ashram
Sabarmati, 3/12/28

I have your letter. It has touched me. But I must also tell you that I do not yet feel the call within. My desires are all in the direction of going to America, but my heart trembles at the very idea. I feel that I can deliver no effective message with my lips. The message of the heart is being delivered to the Americans as to other peoples through my humble work in India.

yours sincerely,
m K Gandhi



Gandhi on shipboard, en route to London in 1931, fulfilling his vow of daily spinning.



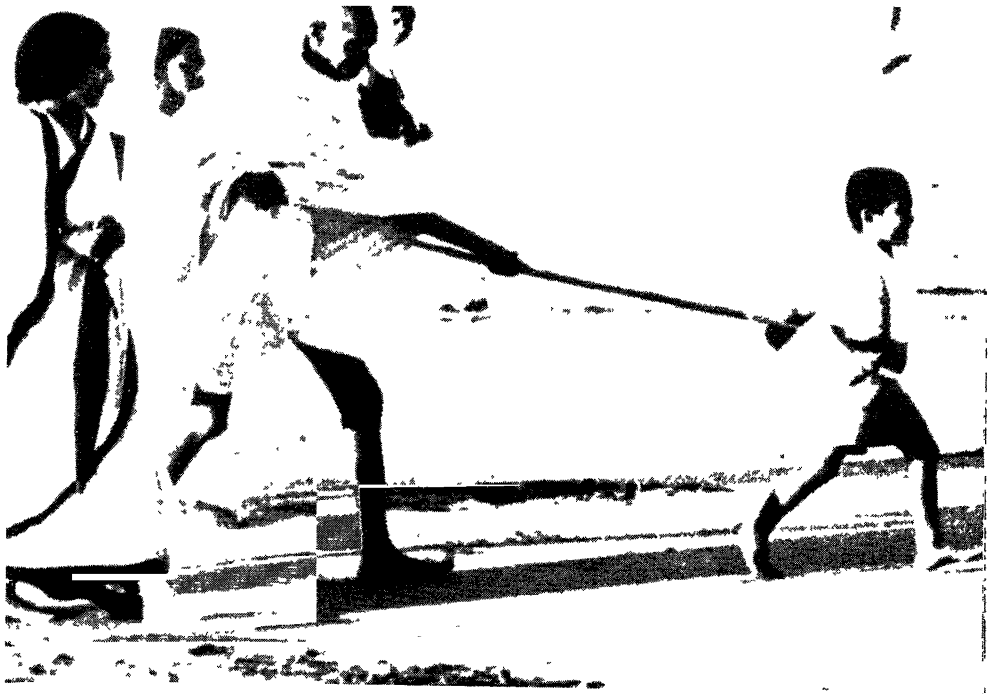
The Paris crowds greet Gandhi en route to London Below At the Round Table Conference in St James Palace, London





Gandhi visits a dairy exhibition at Islington in London, 1931 Below. With Mrs Naidu, Hindu poetess, in London





After his breakdown in 1937, Gandhi on the beach at Juhu. Below Ten years later on a village-to-village walking trip in East Bengal, to spread the doctrine of nonviolence



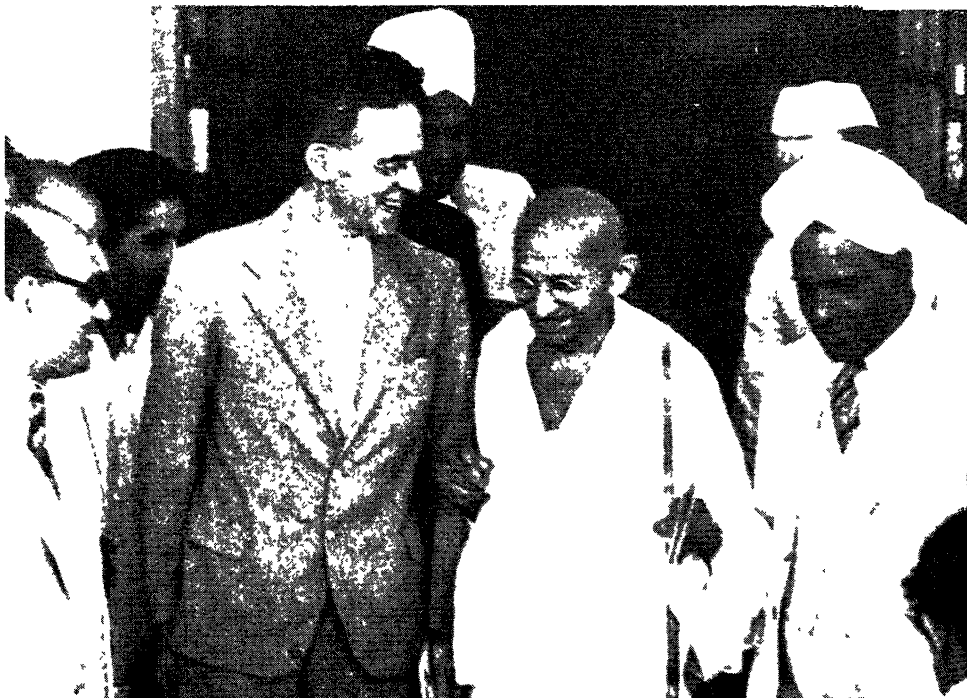


Gandhi takes to the radio in his effort to end the factional strife between Moslems and Hindus.



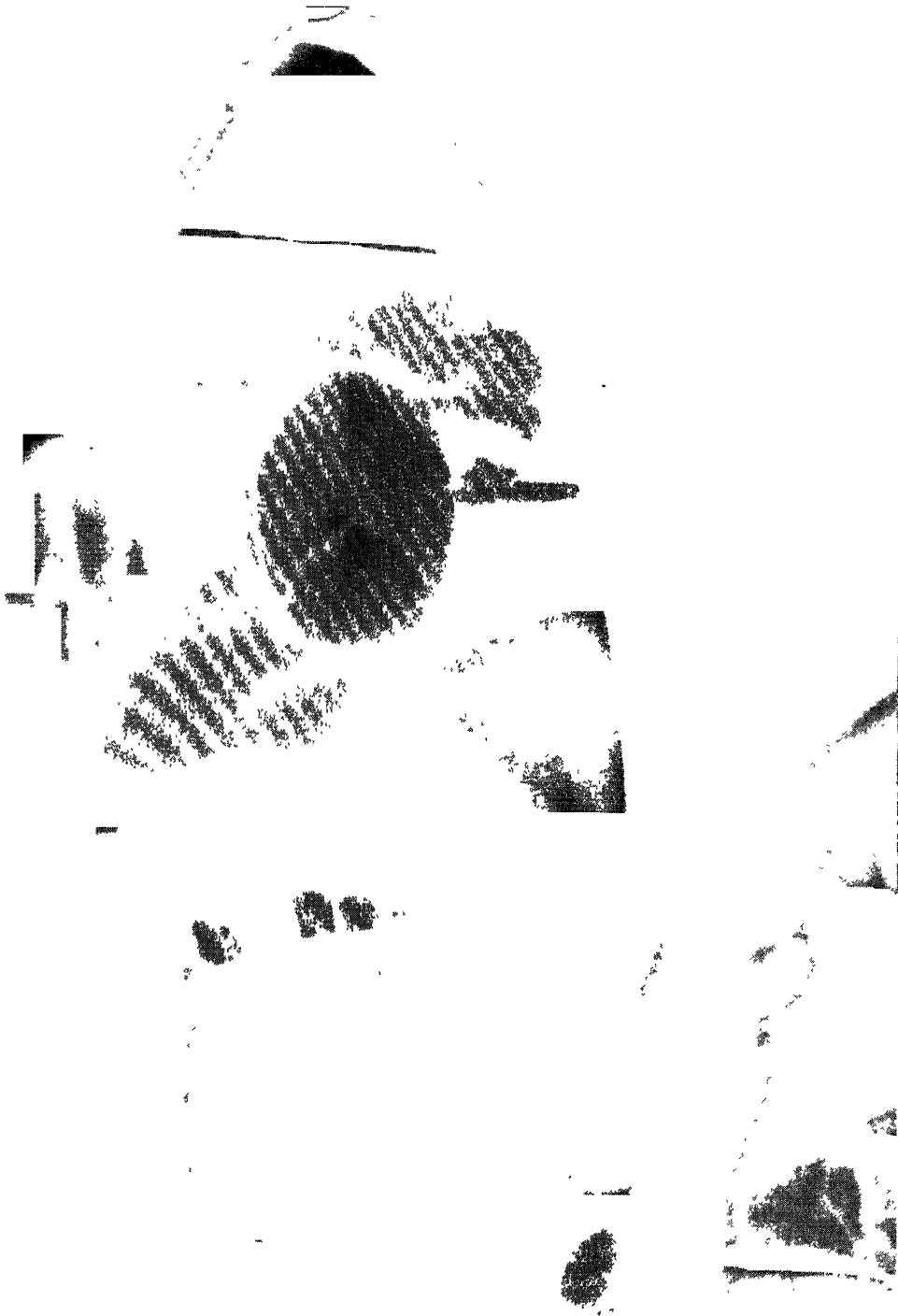
Jawaharlal Nehru, Gandhi's political successor, and the Mahatma at an All-India Village Industries exhibition





Gandhi and Sir Stafford Cripps, when the latter was attempting to negotiate a settlement of the Indian problem. Below: With Viscount and Lady Mountbatten, as India moved toward partition in 1947.





The Mahatma in closeup, photographed in May, 1930, as he began his second prison term in India.



The body of the martyred leader, prepared for the funeral procession in New Delhi, January 31, 1948



The funeral procession along the five-mile route from Birla House to the sacred Jumna river.



At India House in London, where memorial services were held and prayers offered up for Gandhi. Below In the memorial services at Town Hall, New York, Mrs Grewal of Detroit typifies the grief of millions



differences it elects for itself must be made a functional contribution by means of which all those who differ become the richer in their own separate differences.

Here is a simple principle that explains paradox after paradox in Gandhi's statements and actions. It is the logical essence of what superficially may seem very illogical and purely a matter of compromise. Many have spoken of Gandhi as an extraordinarily shrewd politician because they have seen the effectiveness of his flexibility. By the same token, in *New Testament* times, many found Jesus absolutely invulnerable if attacked in public discussion, all because with him, with Gandhi and with all individuals whose basic orientations are universal, the thinking is utterly simple or uninvolved in its own roots. Gandhi was able to bring hope to the Untouchables and the people of India because he not only stressed the common function in which there was unity, but also saw that this could only be grounded, as far as each individual was concerned, in that individual's special differences. Thus he advocated handicrafts and dignity-sustaining local activities for each separate person, and emphasized also the balance on the spiritual and the economic side, so that none would be overwhelmed by needs to be met in excess of capacity to produce. Everyone would have to create enough in excess of that need, moreover, to have a personal satisfaction and so a dividend in self-realization by which he could in truth be himself.

Gandhi's affirmation that he believes in the protection of the cow, in a much larger sense than the popular, is the application of this same over-all principle of spiritual economics to community life in the broader sense. The sacredness of the cow, in the established psychological convenience of Hindu life, is a constant reminder of the protection that man owes to every part of his environment. It is probably impossible to reconstruct Gandhi's thinking in this connection, but the general concepts

have been affirmed so broadly and so definitely that there is little question of the basic idea. Whenever man accepts anything from nature he must show respect for that which he accepts, since otherwise he only ends by destroying himself through the corrosion of what he holds to be inferior. It is, in utterly different terms and circumstances, the same simple principle found in the *New Testament*, when Jesus insists that anyone who accepts the protection of the Roman Peace must pay Roman taxes. There can be no taking without giving, and of course no giving without taking, which again is the same widespread conception of unity as a functional sharing, that is, a fellowship that goes deeper than a mere lip service.

His acceptance of idol worship carries Gandhi's general idea into the realms of imagination. Man must not only be true to his roots in the terms of whatever he may be in a physical sense, but he must be true to what has inspired him both in himself and through his roots in a symbolical sense. The details here are of no great immediate interest to Gandhi, and so perhaps the principle has been affirmed more or less instinctively. Fine insights in one area of life usually induce their corollaries in other and related areas. Yet there is much light at this point upon the rigorousness of the discipline he imposed upon himself and those around him, as in the case of the special vows, the practice of continence, vegetarianism and so on through all the ascetic phases of his personal program. All these modes of conduct are idols in the true sense, not as the empty images before which man debases himself but rather as the means for realizing that man necessarily projects himself into everything in the world around him, and that as he orders and enhances these projections of himself he certifies the values he meanwhile is building into his own being. Without a realization of this continual interaction between man and his world, many of Gandhi's views seem incom-

prehensible. Indeed, some of his admirers never get beneath the surface of his Hinduism, as Mr. Gray and Mr. Parekh, who quote what he has to say concerning cow worship as the central fact of that worship.

"Cow protection is to me one of the most wonderful phenomena in human evolution. It takes the human being beyond his species. The cow means to me the whole subhuman world. Man through the cow is enjoined to realise his identity with all that lives. Why the cow was selected for apotheosis is obvious to me. The cow was in India the best companion. She was the giver of plenty. Not only did she give milk, but she also made agriculture possible. The cow is a poem of pity. One reads pity in the gentle animal. She is the mother to millions of Indian mankind. Protection of the cow means protection of the whole dumb creation of God. The ancient seer, whoever he was, began with the cow. Cow protection is the gift of Hinduism to the world. And Hinduism will live so long as there are Hindus to protect the cow." This is not to be interpreted as an example of gentleness and compassion primarily, but as a sharp understanding of the fact that the symbols of man arise out of experience and are logical only as they hold him firm in his roots and strengthen him in what he is most essentially through his own make-up and background. Thus Gandhi's doctrine of ahimsa, or non-harm to lower life, standing firm and secure upon the symbolism provided by the cow worship, is the one effective political weapon which Gandhi wielded with such extraordinary success. Many of his opponents attack him at this point. The Bhagavad-Gita is used against him because there Krishna urges upon Arjuna the duty of killing his opponents. Literally this is true, but to interpret the Gita in such a general fashion is to miss the whole point of the teaching.

"Let me explain what I mean by religion," says Gandhi. "It is not the Hindu religion, which I cer-

tainly prize above all other religions, but the religion which transcends Hinduism, which changes one's very nature, which binds one indissolubly to the truth within, and which ever purifies. It is the permanent element in human nature which counts no cost too great in order to find full expression, and which leaves the soul utterly restless until it has found itself, known its Maker, and appreciated the true correspondence between the Maker and itself." The Bhagavad-Gita may be interpreted just as literally as the *Old Testament*, where the God of the Jews and Christians was a deity of vengeance with all the pettiness if not perhaps the comparable erotic conduct of the deities on Olympus. The Gita reflects the religious experience of every man coming up from violence to non-violence, and the essence of the situation it presents is that Arjuna has arrived at the point where his broader conceptions are beyond execution, due to the necessities laid upon him by a segment of society from which as yet he cannot withdraw. What is significant in this Gita or "Song Celestial" is what the mind of man has come to see. Arjuna is in conflict with his conscience and the battle is within. The outer and military aspect is unimportant. He has begun to see that the normal way of destructive competition is not properly normal at all. There is a better procedure.

This is what Gandhi sought to live and illustrate. Jesus pointed out that violence only gives birth to more of itself. Violence ended the life of Gandhi, since there were compulsions upon the society of which he was part, but in his death the non-violence for which he stood had won a real victory because there was new and fresh dramatization of the truths for which he no longer would live. Gandhi's willingness to compromise was an expression of this principle, therefore, because he knew that experience itself is an adaptation of the evil as a good. Thus he ignored the criticism over his

sympathy with the Khilafat agitators. In making the political gesture of support for a Moslem cause, when he thought the Mohammedans had a real grievance, he knew he was furthering the friendship that would have to grow between Hindus and Moslems if ever there was to be a free India. On this occasion, he explained that "a believer in non-violence is pledged not to resort to violence or physical force, either directly or indirectly, in defence of anything, but he is not precluded from helping institutions or men that are themselves not based on non-violence. My business is to refrain from any violence myself, and to induce by persuasion and service as many of God's creatures as I can to join me in the belief and practice. But I would be untrue to my faith if I refused to assist in a just cause any men or measures that did not coincide with the principle of non-violence. I would be promoting violence if, finding the Mussalmans to be in the right, I did not resist those who had treacherously plotted the destruction of the dignity of Islam."

This may seem to be sheer sophistry, but Gandhi himself went on to say that "life is a very complex thing, and truth and non-violence present problems which often defy analysis and judgment. One discovers truth, and the method of applying, the only legitimate means of vindicating it, i.e. satyagraha, or soul-force, by patient endeavour and silent prayer. I can only assure friends that I spare no pains to grope my way to the right, and that humble and constant endeavour and silent prayer are always my two trusty companions along the weary but beautiful path that all seekers must tread." If there is hypocrisy here, the underlying proposition is sound, and Gandhi is not willing at any point to have evaluations made on the basis of verbal judgments. The soul force or satyagraha which is so central in all his work is what perhaps in Western terms could be described as an active and never-ceasing good will,

cultivated and sustained in the changing milieu of everyday life. Nothing else really has any possible constancy, and hence it is interesting to see what Gandhi himself has to say on the subject, under the heading "My Inconsistencies" in the very beautiful volume put together by a group of his friends as a greeting to him on his seventy-fifth birthday (*Gandhiji, His Life and Work*, Bombay, Karnatak Publishing House, 1944).

"I must admit my many inconsistencies. But since I am called 'Mahatma,' I might well endorse Emerson's saying that 'foolish consistency is the hobgoblin of little minds.' There is, I fancy, a method in my inconsistencies. In my opinion there is a consistency running through my seeming inconsistencies, as in nature there is unity running through seeming diversity.

"Friends who know me have certified that I am as much a moderate as I am an extremist and as much conservative as I am a radical. Hence perhaps my good fortune to have friends among these extreme types of men. The mixture is due, I believe, to my view of *ahimsa*.

"Inconsistency is only apparent. It appears so to many friends because of my responsiveness to varying circumstances. Seeming consistency may really be sheer obstinacy.

"I decline to be a slave to precedents or practice I cannot understand or defend on a moral basis. I have sacrificed no principle to gain a political advantage.

"It has been my misfortune or good fortune to take the world by surprise. New experiments, or old experiments in new style, must sometimes engender misunderstanding.

"Those who have at all followed my humble career even superficially cannot have failed to observe that not a single act of my life has been done to the injury of any individual or nation.

"I claim no infallibility. I am conscious of having made Himalayan blunders, but I am not conscious of

having made them intentionally or having even harboured enmity towards any person or nation, or any life, human or sub-human.

"I am not aware of having done a single thing in my life as a matter of expedience. I have ever held that the highest morality is also the highest expedience.

"I have never made a fetish of consistency. I am a votary of Truth and I must say what I feel and think at a given moment on the question, without regard to what I may have said before on it. . . . As my vision gets clearer, my views must grow clearer with daily practice. Where I have deliberately altered an opinion, the change should be obvious. Only a careful eye would notice a gradual and imperceptible evolution.

"I am not at all concerned with appearing to be consistent. In my pursuit after Truth I have discarded many ideas and learnt many new things. Old as I am in age, I have no feeling that I have ceased to grow inwardly or that my growth will stop with the dissolution of the flesh. What I am concerned with is my readiness to obey the call of Truth, my God, from moment to moment.

"There are eternal principles which admit of no compromise, and one must be prepared to lay down one's life in the practice of them."

On the side of Gandhi's consistencies, contrariwise—and especially as these concern the deeper spiritual principles embodied for him in a reinterpreted Hinduism—his report in *Harijan* on certain questions put to him by a Christian missionary in India and his answers is additional and important light on his religious view. "The Rev. Stanley Jones paid me a visit the other day before sailing for America. He said that in America he would be asked many questions about the campaign against untouchability and had, therefore, some questions which he wanted me to answer. I was glad of the visit and I readily answered his questions. I do not pro-

pose to reproduce the whole of our conversation and all his questions and cross-questions, but I propose to give to the readers the main questions and the substance of my answers.

"His first question, then, was Why do you restrict the movement to the removal of untouchability only? Why not do away with the caste system altogether? If there is a difference between caste and caste, and caste and untouchability, is it not one only of degree?

"Answer: Untouchability as it is practised in Hinduism today is, in my opinion, a sin against God and man and is, therefore, like a poison slowly eating into the very vitals of Hinduism. In my opinion, it has no sanction whatsoever in the Hindu *Shastras* taken as a whole. Untouchability of a healthy kind is undoubtedly to be found in the *Shastras* and it is universal in all religions. It is a rule of sanitation. That will exist to the end of time; but untouchability as we are observing it today in India is a hideous thing and wears various forms in various provinces, even districts. It has degraded both the untouchables and the touchables. It has stunted the growth of nearly forty million human beings. They are denied even the ordinary amenities of life. The sooner, therefore, it is ended, the better for Hinduism, the better for India, and, perhaps, better for mankind in general.

"Not so the caste system. There are innumerable castes in India. They are a social institution. They are so many trade guilds, as well said by the late Sir William Wilson Hunter. And at one time they served a very useful purpose, as, perhaps, they are even now doing to a certain extent. This institution has super-added to its restrictions which, in my opinion, are undesirable and are bound to go in course of time. There is nothing sinful about them. They retard the material progress of those who are labouring under them. They are no bar to the spiritual progress. The difference, therefore, between caste system and untouchability is

not one of degree, but of kind. An untouchable is outside the pale of respectable society . . .

"There is one thing more to be remembered about the caste system. For me it is not the same as *Varnashram Dharma*. Whilst the caste system is an answer to the social need, *Varnashram* is based upon the Hindu scriptures. Not so the caste system. While there are innumerable castes (some dying out and new ones coming into being), the *Varnas* are, and have always been, four. I am a firm believer in *Varnashram*. I have not hesitated before now to consider it as a gift of Hinduism to mankind. Acceptance of that *Dharma* is, so far as I have been able to see it, a condition of spiritual growth. But I may not here elaborate my view of these four famous divisions in Hinduism. Their consideration is irrelevant to the present purpose. But I may make this admission that today this *Varnashram Dharma* is not being observed in its purity. There is an utter confusion of *Varna* and, if Hinduism is to become a living force in the world, we have to understand its real purpose and revive it; but we cannot do so unless the canker of untouchability is destroyed. The idea of superiority and inferiority has to be demolished. The four divisions are not a vertical section, but a horizontal plane on which all stand on a footing of equality, doing the services respectively assigned to them. A life of religion is not a life of privileges but of duty. Privileges may come, as they do come to all, from a fulfillment of duty. In the book of God the same number of marks are assigned to the Brahman that has done his task well as to the Bhangi who has done likewise.

"The second question was: Why do you want temple entry for *Harijans*? Are not temples the lowest thing in Hinduism?

"Answer: I do not think so for one moment. Temples are to Hindus what churches are to Christians. In my opinion, we are all idolators; that in Hinduism we have

images of stone or metal inside the temples makes to me no difference. Thousands of Hindus who visit temples in simple faith derive precisely the same benefit that Christians visiting churches in simple faith do. Deprive a Hindu of his temple, and you deprive him of the thing he generally prizes most in life. That superstition and evil have grown round many temples is but true. That, however, is an argument for temple reform, not for lowering the values of *Harijans* or any Hindu . . .

"His third question was: Was not your fast pure coercion ?

"Answer: If it is agreed that my fast sprang from love, then it was coercion, only if love of parents for their children or of the latter for the former, or love of husband for wife and wife for husband, or, to take a sweeping illustration, love of Jesus for those who own Him as their all, is coercion. It is the implicit and sacred belief of millions of Christians that love of Jesus keeps them from falling and that it does against themselves. His love bends the emotions and reason of thousands of His votaries to His love. I know that, in my childhood, love of my parents kept me from sinning, and, even after fifty years of age, love of my children and friends kept me positively from going to perdition, which I would have done most assuredly but for the definite and overwhelming influence of that love. And, if all this love could be regarded as coercion, then the love that prompted my fast and, therefore, my fast, was coercion, but it was that in no other sense. Fasting is a great institution in Hinduism, as perhaps in no other religion, and though it has been abused by people not entitled to fast, it has, on the whole, done the greatest good to Hinduism. I believe that there is no prayer without fasting and there is no real fast without prayer. My fast was the prayer of a soul in agony."

Dr. Jones himself comments on this interview in a brief statement, published in *Fellowship*, in which he

reveals the complete extent to which Gandhi's deeper ideas eluded him. "Two days before I sailed, I saw Gandhiji and had a long conversation with him. Doctor Ambedkar happened to be there at the same time, and I had long talks with him afterwards. I think Doctor Ambedkar is right about the matter and that Gandhiji in the end will come to the position that caste itself must go. In his talk with me, he at times came so near to letting it go that it was practically gone. But he would come back and defend an underlying conception of differences, so that it seemed as though he was defending caste. But in his heart of hearts I do not think he believes in caste. It is a pity that he has to be a politician at the very moment of his dealing with this great human problem. I wish he could face the matter without the necessity of bringing caste Hinduism along with him. I think he would have a clearer message on the subject. Now I confess it is not clear." Here the more superficial West speaks in its characteristic blindness. What it cannot understand is simply not clear. The West cannot conceive that there might be anything wrong with the non-understanding mind. Its own logic is unfortunately consistent to the point of rigidity, and its thinking accepts its own narrowed circularity quite contentedly.

FOUR

WOMAN'S ROLE IN THE WORLD

If parallels are to be made between Jesus and Gandhi, none is more striking than the contribution each has made to the elevation of womankind. Both insisted on a fundamental respect for her personality, and denied the basic psychology in which her personal self-fulfillment or satisfaction was expected to subordinate itself to the man's, thanks to the biological specialization of her organism. There has always been a twofold aspect to any consideration of sex relations. First and most explicit has been a demand upon the woman for the strictest possible morality—irrespective of what in turn may be exacted of the man in varying times and cultures—to the end that the breeding of children might serve society most advantageously. This is the side of the matter which comes forward under special stress at repetitive points in history, as when the need of some group for manpower is greater than its ingrained desire for the perpetuation or reduplication of only the best in itself. Recently such an emphasis was seen in the efforts of the Nazi regime in Germany to increase the population, to the point of an almost open encouragement of illegitimacy. The traditional rape of the Sabine women by the Romans, and the dedication of the virgins from Jabesh-gilead to save the tribe of Benjamin from extinction in early Hebrew times, are examples of this approach to woman as a social property rather than a social person.

The other facet of the matter is more subtle and psychological, with even Gandhi himself unconsciously ingenuous in his analysis of his own relations with his child wife. In this point of view at its extreme the

woman is primarily a creature for the pleasure of the man, and all historically-known societies have tended to perfect their mores on the basis of that interrelation between the sexes by which the man accepts a special responsibility as a price for his enjoyment, and in which the woman, however protected and pampered as a consequence, is yet subject ultimately to the whim of the other sex as dominant in the scheme. She is trained in a mobilization of her charms as a means for gaining whatever may come to her in life, so that her self-fulfillment becomes not so much the fruit of effort as of beguilement. Hence sex appeal comes to the foreground in the thinking of both men and women about each other. Life becomes a game of wits, with the end reward—like the fish thrown to the trained seals in the vaudeville of another day—the opportunity for direct or indirect sexual indulgence as culmination for what the imagination has set up in the frame of its enhancement. Here woman is ultimately the repository of man's passion.

Gandhi, in his beautiful tribute to his wife, in what has been made virtually the leading article in the volume issued for his seventy-fifth birthday, refers as elsewhere in varying ways to his own conception of any man's wife as "the object of her husband's lust, born to do her husband's behest, rather than a helpmate, a comrade, and a partner in the husband's joys and sorrows." He speaks of his Kasturba as reticent, and the whole discussion seems extraordinarily naïve to the modern psychologist of the Western world. Yet it seldom enters the head of the average man that woman is like himself in all ways that count, differing only by necessity in the relatively minor and biological accident of sex. Woman is as capable of passion as a man, the sexual intimacy can be as satisfactory and in the same way, even though factors of the timing and imaginative accompaniment reflect the varying modes of growth and convenience in the physiological structures which characterize the

male, on the one hand, and the female, on the other. For entirely other than psychological reasons, Gandhi is interested in the social rather than individual aspect of existence, and this psychological distortion between the sexes is an area of general experience that appeared little worth his investigation, at least as long as the dumb millions of India were suffering abject privation as a group and complete frustration as individuals.

Mahatma Gandhi is at all points the social thinker, and from the very beginning he has been outraged by the institution of child marriage, and all of its concomitant impact upon both the girl and boy as members of a human society. He married Kasturba at the age of thirteen, entering into this experience with what he remembers as "the prospect of good clothes to wear, drum-beating, marriage processions, and a strange girl to play with." Here, implicitly, was the idea of ownership. The little girl was an acquisition. The childish milieu of games and amusement was expanded as little other than more of the same because, after all, child marriage had unquestionably been developed as a counter to the sex experimentation of children and the adolescent promiscuity of so many primitive peoples. India is a tropical country, where sexual maturation is early and the drives usually strong.

Gandhi tells of his early reading about marriage, where lifelong faithfulness is the great ideal, and the simple obverse of this—the duty of the husband to exact a faithfulness from his wife—built up, as Gandhi himself was astute enough to observe, the psychology of "a jealous husband." Because she was merely acquiescent, psychologically, this acquiescence had to be protected externally, and therefore he had to watch her. His reference to her as reticent is presumably a testimony to the lack of any spontaneous co-operation in their intimacies, suggesting a passivity which would lead in time to his own conception of himself as a lust-

ful husband. Being what he was inherently in his own nature, he yearned for the co-operation which never was possible, and for the psychological balance in this type of partnership which is becoming the ideal of the Western world, however materialistic or sensual in its own simple expression. Gandhi's adolescent roots would be responsible for his ingrained conception of woman's customary role in a necessary submission to man, but with this developed his rising repudiation of everything in society which would hold her to such a place. The solution to the problem in his own case was drastic, when he undertook the vow of continence. Kasturba became indeed the comrade and helpmate rather than the wife in any personal sense, but the family life was not ideal and only two of his four sons were able to do him honor at his bier.

Since nothing is known of Jesus, other than the idealized facts of a mythologized life, it is impossible to reconstruct the circumstances which may have had their part in the development of his personal attitudes. However, when the public careers of these two spiritual characters are brought into juxtaposition, there is the same great prominence of women in the events and in the teaching of both. Scholars are sure that many of the most beautiful and universally beloved stories found exclusively in the *Gospel According to Luke* are derived from what has somewhat conveniently been designated as the woman's narrative. It is more than probable that Luke, the physician who was the author of this Gospel, utilized the time on his hands during Paul's incarceration at Cæsarea to visit with surviving members and intimates of the Holy Family, and to collect these soul-warming incidents as only one of his profession might be in a position to do. It was the women who dominated the scene at the cross, and who hurried to care for the body of the stricken Nazarene as soon as the first light streaked through the sky on the day

after the Sabbath. In all *New Testament* record the women came forward enough to seem very central in the sympathy and understanding of Jesus. It was Mary, and not Martha, who chose the better way, since Martha sought sanction for the subserviency of the kitchen and the instinctive subordination of her sex. Jesus was not rebuking her sense of household responsibility, but the particular emphasis which depreciated womankind in general.

In the case of Gandhi, the elevation of woman to a role equal with man is rather spectacular. There is an essay in the seventy-fifth-birthday volume, written by Kamaladevi, which affirms that one of Gandhi's greatest achievements was the restoration of womankind to her proper place in the scheme of things, "for, it is not what the woman actually did in the Satyagraha movement which matters so much as what the movement did to her. It changed the face of Indian society. What social reformers had been struggling to achieve over half a century, Gandhiji did almost overnight. The status of women was completely transformed, for in life there is rarely a going back. The women of today carry themselves with new dignity and a consciousness of their larger responsibilities."

The dramatic event which best signalized the great turn in the tide of things for the feminine sex in India was probably the effective Civil Disobedience Campaign which Gandhi inaugurated in 1930. He had addressed the seventy-five thousand people assembled on the banks of the Sabarmati, asking them to join a "war of independence," but only under the absolute condition of non-violence, and on March 12th he had begun the historical march to Dandi to break the salt law, accompanied by some eighty volunteers from his ashrama. At the beginning no women were taken, "out of consideration for the government," but before the end of these stirring days they were participating as widely and

freely as the men. Through all his struggles Gandhi was strengthened by the full support, the strength of character and genuine attainments of his wife. She was illiterate, as he has pointed out, and he had thought to teach her, but the limitations of what he called the barbarous purdah—that is, the practical seclusion of women from men, involving separate quarters with special functions and separate experiences all down the line—thwarted this intention on his part. As is true of all people without genuine intellectual resources, or with no breadth of experience through wide social contacts in cases where the mind has not been perfected as an instrument for imaginative breadth, she was stubborn in respect to all the plethora of little things whose stability offered her a psychological sustainment. In her own way, therefore, she was as strong as he, and in many respects as much the author of his achievements.

Immature children when they were married, and without understanding in their first years together as adults, the two had little encouragement towards any personal adjustment, and their early life was far from happy. Gandhi has often reproached himself for the pain he brought his wife. Nonetheless the strength of her will, which equaled his own in all true respects, enabled her to retain and develop her own individuality, and she gave him a living demonstration of the necessity for that genuinely personal expression which he came to feel was the real basis of social reform. She adjusted herself to him and to the sharp and continual changes he brought about in the lives of both of them. Because she never allowed herself to be crushed, she did not hesitate to oppose him when she felt she was right, even though she might be standing in the way of what he was trying to do. She often opposed him when he had become the Mahatma before whom India's dumb millions stood abashed, with his very word or glance a law to them but not to her. Hence what started out as an

unfortunate relationship, with much heartache, ended up a wonderfully satisfying partnership of full equals in effort. Kamaladevi explains that while he became Bapu to the world, she became Ba, and this entirely on her own, not as an appendage to him.

Because Gandhi expects much from the women, he has given them strength, and many of them have achieved the much he has expected under his encouragement. Indeed, more and more women are coming forward on a completely equal basis with the men. Gandhi's ideals on sex morality are absurdly simple. As woman takes on a serious role, and has a full part in working for and preserving the real values of life, the lesser things which are more of the animal than the thinking creature merely fall back into place. The first step in making a world pure is instrumented by giving every individual the free and unconditioned choice to grasp purity if he wants it. By making the individual aware of the potentials which lie before him, and refusing to put any compulsions on his judgment, Gandhi believes he is left free to choose a better rather than a worse, almost instinctively. Thus Kamaladevi says that Gandhi "compelled women to extricate themselves. For the first time woman grew conscious of herself as an entity, of her mission in life, grew to a realisation that in her shackles was society fettered, that in pushing her down the alley man had slipped headlong after her, that her regeneration was intrinsically bound up with the regeneration of the nation. She stirred from her bad dream of weakness and helplessness to the waking awareness of strength and power. That she counted vitally and in infinite ways was to her now a real experience. She was the vehicle of national fulfillment. Her mission went beyond her old domestic frontiers, even beyond the national ones.

"Gandhiji's clarion voice rang out: 'In this non-violent warfare, their contribution should be much

greater than men's. To call woman the weaker sex is a libel; it is man's injustice to woman. If by strength is meant brute strength, then indeed, is woman less brute than man. If by strength is meant moral power, then woman is immeasurably man's superior. Has she not greater powers of endurance, has she not greater courage? Without her, man could not be. If non-violence is the law of our being, the future is with women.' " Hence woman has come forward in India's politics to a point of greater and greater significance. The problem with the Untouchables was duplicated in different terms with the women. Immediate necessities might require a political movement out of the actualities of these social separations or false caste lines, but Gandhi saw clearly that the stirring by these cross sections of the population, in and of themselves for themselves, was a step forward into a full and final assimilation of themselves into the larger whole. The start in a breakdown of the separations was a common task and a common realization.

The vigor of the political moves by the women themselves is very evident, following upon the stirring events in 1930. Thus in *The Pioneer* for June 26, 1933, a statement is given by Dr. Muthulakshmi Reddy, who with Rajkumari Amritkour and Mrs. Sharifa Hamid Ali was preparing to give evidence before the Joint Select Committee on behalf of the two All-India women's organizations. "I was elected by the All-India Women's Organisation at the Joint Franchise meeting held in Bombay on March 25 and 26 to give evidence before the Joint Parliamentary Committee on the questions of women's franchise and their status in the future constitution of India. Since then I have been receiving telegrams and letters from my sisters all over India that I should appear on their behalf to voice their views on that subject. Though I am personally of the opinion that the Indian constitution problems cannot be solved

satisfactorily without the help and coöperation of all parties in the country, especially of that party led by Gandhiji, yet I have accepted the invitation in response to the wishes of my sisters to represent the organised women's point of view before the British public. Our point of view is that the independent thinking women of India are opposed to communalism in any shape or kind, that women do not seek any safeguards or protection for themselves in the new constitution, that the new constitution should be based on the sound principle of perfect sex equality and that women cannot free themselves from the shackles of customs and conventions unless their men are free and responsible citizens."

A memorandum on the status of Indian women in the proposed new constitution of India was submitted to the Joint Parliamentary Committee on behalf of the All-India Women's Conference and the Indian Women's Association, to the effect that "After a careful consideration of the proposals embodied in the White Paper with regard to the status and enfranchisement of women in the proposed new constitution of India, we, the representatives of the All-India Women's Conference and the Indian Women's Association, find that they fall short of the demands made in our first memorandum of August, 1931, to the Second Round-Table Conference. We are still of the opinion that only the proposals made in our first memorandum will confer upon women equal political status, but as they have not been accepted on the ground of their supposed impracticability at the present moment, we feel obliged to make the following new proposals: We urge that the recognition of the principle of equality between the sexes should find a definite place in the Declaration of the Fundamental Rights of citizenship in the Constitution Act. We desire to point out that the word sex has been omitted from page 29, paragraph 75, of the introduction to the pro-

posals for Indian constitutional reform, as embodied in the White Paper and it should be inserted. On the question of franchise the memorandum disapproves of the proposed special condition under which women may be enfranchised, namely, 'being the wife or widow of a person possessing the property qualification at present entitling him to vote for the provincial legislatures.' Citizenship, they hold, should not depend on factors like marriage. They, therefore, recommend that in addition to property rights and literacy tests, men and women of 21 years of age and over be enfranchised in all urban areas. The memorandum objects to the indirect system of election as proposed in the White Paper and is opposed to the reservation of seats."

Mahatma Gandhi himself wrote, on woman's role, in *Harijan*, February 24, 1940. "My opinion is that, just as fundamentally man and woman are one, their problem must be one in essence. The soul in both is the same. The two live the same life, have the same feelings. Each is a complement of the other. The one cannot live without the other's active help. But somehow or other man has dominated woman from ages past, and so woman has developed an inferiority complex. She has believed in the truth of man's interested teaching that she is inferior to him. But the seers among men have recognised her equal status.

"Nevertheless there is no doubt that at some point there is bifurcation. Whilst both are fundamentally one, it is also equally true that in the form there is a vital difference between the two. Hence the vocations of the two must be different. The duty of motherhood, which the vast majority of women will always undertake, requires qualities which man need not possess. She is passive, he is active. She is essentially mistress of the house. He is the bread-winner, she is the keeper and distributor of the bread. She is the caretaker in every sense of the term. The art of bringing up the infants of the race is her

special and sole prerogative. Without her care the race must become extinct. In my opinion it is degrading both for man and woman that woman should be called upon or induced to forsake the hearth and shoulder the rifle for the protection of that hearth. It is a reversion to barbarity and the beginning of the end. In trying to ride the horse that man rides, she brings herself and him down. The sin will be on man's head for tempting or compelling his companion to desert her special calling. There is as much bravery in keeping one's home in good order and condition as there is in defending it against attack from without.

"As I have watched millions of peasants in their natural surroundings and as I watch them daily in little Sevagram, the natural division of spheres of work has forced itself on my attention. There are no women blacksmiths and carpenters. But men and women work on the fields, the heaviest work being done by the males. The women keep and manage the homes. They supplement the meagre resources of the family, but man remains the main bread-winner. The division of the spheres of work being recognised, the general qualities and culture required are practically the same for both the sexes.

"My contribution to the great problem lies in my presenting for acceptance truth and *ahimsa* in every walk of life, whether for individuals or nations. I have hugged the hope that in this woman will be the unquestioned leader and, having thus found her place in human evolution, will shed her inferiority complex. If she is able to do this successfully, she must resolutely refuse to believe in the modern teaching that everything is determined and regulated by the sex impulse. I fear that I have put the proposition rather clumsily. But I hope my meaning is clear. I do not know that the millions of men who are taking an active part in the war are obsessed by the sex spectre. Nor are the peasants working

together in their fields worried or dominated by it. This is not to say or to suggest that they are free from the instinct implanted in man and woman. But it most certainly does not dominate their lives as it seems to dominate the lives of those who are saturated with the modern sex literature. Neither man nor woman has time for such things when he or she is faced with the hard fact of living life in its grim reality.

"I have suggested in these columns that woman is the incarnation of *ahimsa*. *Ahimsa* means infinite love, which again means infinite capacity for suffering. Who but woman, the mother of man, shows this capacity in the largest measure? She shows it as she carries the infant and feeds it during nine months and derives joy in the suffering involved. What can beat the suffering caused by the pangs of labour? But she forgets them in the joy of creation. Who, again, suffers daily so that her babe may wax from day to day? Let her transfer that love to the whole of humanity, let her forget she ever was or can be the object of man's lust. And she will occupy her proud position by the side of man as his mother, maker and silent leader. It is given to her to teach the art of peace to the warring world thirsting for that nectar. She can become the leader in Satyagraha which does not require the learning that books give but does require the stout heart that comes from suffering and faith."

FIVE

RESPECT FOR PERSONALITY

A group of Pathans—the Indo-Iranian Afghans found in many parts of India and constituting the principal stock of the Frontier Province—were led to join with those Indians in South Africa who were opposed to Gandhi's first agreement with General Smuts in 1908. Shortly afterwards, when he was on his way to the registration office, he was set upon by a number of them, including Mir Alam, an old client. He was rescued by the European passers-by and his assailants were arrested. On regaining consciousness Gandhi asked about Mir Alam, and when told of the arrests he insisted on their release and telegraphed the Advocate-General that he did not hold these men guilty for the assault on him and that in any case he did not wish to prosecute. Explaining his action to the Indian community, he said, "Seeing that the assault was committed by a Mussalman or Mussalmans, the Hindus might probably feel hurt. If so, they would put themselves in the wrong before the world and their Maker. Rather let the blood spilt today cement the two communities indissolubly—such is my heart-felt prayer. May God grant it." Gandhi's gesture on this occasion appealed to the Pathans in India, and one of them, Khan Sahib, adds his tribute to the others in the volume issued on the occasion of Gandhi's seventy-fifth birthday. "They thought that he was really the man to lead us to our objective. Thereafter the Pathans became friends and followers of Gandhiji."

Badshah Khan, who came to be known as the Frontier Gandhi, was the founder of the Servants of God, in

September, 1929, and this organization by the end of September a year later had grown to include more than eighty thousand volunteers. After the Delhi Pact of 1931 "the number of volunteers shot up so quickly that we were unable to cope up with the work." The men became known as Red Shirts because the original uniform of simple white homespun got dirty very quickly, and all began to follow the lead of one volunteer who discovered that he could dye his clothes in a solution of red brick powder. The Frontier Province stood firm in the Civil Disobedience Campaign, despite the very heavy repressive measures by the Frontier government. Khan Sahib says, "We approached the Muslim League first for help, but it was refused. Our approach to Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, however, was fruitful." This train of events illustrates the constant crisscrossing of various lines of influence through the development of Gandhi's work, together with the widening impact of his influence. It also and in particular shows his clear insight into the necessity of avoiding divisions on the basis of religious lines, on the one hand, and of racial differences, on the other.

It is virtually impossible to understand the course of Gandhi's thinking, or to realize the magnitude of his problem in creating a continent-wide respect for personality, without at least a general idea of India and its make-up. Except for the solid anchorage to Asia, mostly the impossible Himalayas, India in truth is a continent, and one much more isolated than Africa, which likewise has a land bridge. It holds from one-fifth to one-sixth of the entire world's population. The Hindu peoples, by and large, have not either been inclined to a historical perspective of the sort characterizing the Western world, or to any particularly generalized interest in contemporary happenings. As a result the records leave much of India's story without any adequate account at all. It is oversimplification, but yet not alto-

gether inaccurate description, to say that the Hindu spiritualizes history, no less than he seeks to spiritualize himself. The written record is minimal, as far as truly Hindu materials are concerned. The inscriptions are very rich, however, and archeology permits a great deal of reconstruction which is taking its slow course. An unsuspected mine of information has been uncovered in recent times through the translation of Mohammedan writings, since the Mongol invaders exhibited more of a true history sense. Other than these sources, the researcher has only the testimony of the Greeks and Romans, and the other peoples who have had dealings with the Indians.

Three distinct aboriginal peoples have left evidences of their cultures, and have made their contribution to the basic Hindu stock. Of these the Dravidians were perhaps the most important. At least they became the best known, and the name is applied rather loosely to all aboriginal stocks. The coming of the Indo-Aryan peoples was the beginning of India's brilliant history, with the *Rig-Veda* giving a reflection of this influx and shedding much light upon the earliest days of anything comparable to the India now known to history. These early Aryans adopted and refined the Semitic alphabet, borrowing from Babylon in all probability as did the Greeks to so great an extent in other directions, and so produced the first form of the script which in one or another of its developments characterizes all those to be found in India, Burma, Ceylon and this general area of the world. A real process of civilization had its beginning, and Hinduism had its start as a world religion. When Alexander the Great entered India, in 327 B.C., his two-year campaign in the Punjab and Sind created an effective historical link with the civilizations arising to the West. Through the several generations that followed there was competition at first, and then co-operation, between the two essentially Asiatic cultures grad-

ually shaping themselves. Even while Alexander was withdrawing, Chandragupta Maurya—who had been one of those flocking to the camp of Alexander while he was in India, presumably learning by observation or close study just how to put an effective empire together—founded his kingdom in 322 B.C. and reigned for a quarter of a century. He established the great dynasty of which Asoka was later the outstanding figure, and is the ruler known to the Greeks as Sandrocottus.

It was the first-hand contact with early Aryan Hindu culture by the Greek ambassador at Chandragupta's court, Megasthenes, that provided the most available information on this period. Seleucus, that one of Alexander's warriors who had selected Syria for his share of the spoils, was meanwhile building the great Antiochian Empire, and the exchange of cultural contributions between the two powerful dynasties did much for India by way of introducing Greek scientific or philosophical thought and know-how. Meanwhile India was passing from its Vedantic into its Epic period, and a decaying Brahmanism had been challenged by Jainism and then almost contemporaneously by Buddhism, so that in the time of Asoka—who ruled from 264 to 227 B.C.—the latter became the state religion of India, and had a very great influence on its destiny until it died out in the land of its origin, and permitted Brahmanistic Hinduism to regain and hold its basic supremacy. The rise of Mohammed in Arabia was responsible, after the Greeks, for the next several great impacts on Hindu life and culture. The Parsees, or Zoroastrians—who are one of the many miscellaneous groups making up India's population—are the peoples of Persian blood displaced from their own homeland by the Arabic conquests in the eighth century. They were welcomed as fugitives, and their immigration into India was encouraged, and of the various minority groups, although they hold to their form of worship, they have come the closest to amalga-

mation into purely Hindu thinking and conception of any comparable group.

The direct impact of the Mohammedans was three centuries later, after Genghis Khan and his Mongols had changed the whole course of history in Eurasia. His virtual extermination of the Persians, who had accepted Mohammedanism, deprived Islam of its best military potential after the first great outsurging of the Arabs, but the Mongolians that overran the Caspian Sea region and the country adjacent to India were soon led to embrace Islam themselves. India suffered a succession of invasions by the Moslem Afghans and Tatars, and by the 13th century the Mohammedans had conquered most of India. The leaders were descended from Tamerlane, and in India they established the dynasty of the Moguls. Baber was their most colorful and spectacularly successful conqueror, entering India in 1525, and the most famous of the Great Moguls was Akbar, who established his capital of Delhi in 1556 and reigned until 1605. His successors continued a rule of lavish brilliance for better than a century, and then nominally retained control of India for a century and a half longer, or until 1857, when the Sepoy Mutiny ended the chapter, and the British control of India became complete.

All these various streams of development are what on an oversimplified pattern might be described as the continual pouring into India of men and treasure and ideas, there to continue in living presence or in permanent deposit with the continual crisscrossing of relationships that can never be untangled in any one over-all analysis. Several other minor developments must be noted for an understanding of different phases in Gandhi's life and ideas. The Sikhs figured prominently in the last days of his career, thanks to the violent wrenching apart of Pakistan and the rest of India. Sikhism was founded by Nanak, who was born in 1569, and so was a contemporary of Luther. One of the many sects of various

types produced almost continually in the spiritual atmosphere of India, his movement was a reaction against an overlegalistic Brahmanism. Because the Sikhs made splendid soldiers they have been much used by the British and, by the evolution of circumstances through some four and a half centuries, they have become the particularly militant exponents of Hinduism. This has been in particular opposition to the Moslem supremacy, and the efforts on the part of the Mohammedan Indians to hold or seek privileges for themselves out of proportion to their numbers in the whole population. Sikhism is in no direct way the precursor of the terrorist sects, from which the assassination of Gandhi largely stemmed, but the spirit of militancy is important because Gandhi has opposed it, and in natural consequence has been opposed by it.

The entire tendency of Indian thought, because of India's isolation, enervating climate and heritage of a continual absorption and assimilation of the many streams pouring themselves into the subcontinent as their final reservoir, is reflected in Gandhi's eclecticism and spirit of compromise. Any study of his work must not only embrace all these major lines of influence, but also the life and teaching of one who in many respects may have been the precursor of Gandhi, although perhaps without direct impact on him, namely, Ramakrishna (1836-1886) or India's great saint of the nineteenth century who sought to blend the best of the spiritual disciplines offered by Hinduism, Islam and Christianity. The Christian missionaries came with the Europeans all during the last days of the Mogul rule, although Christianity as such has never been much more than a colonized faith in India, apparently as little able to sustain its individuality against the intellectual assimilations of Hinduism as Buddhism before it. Mohammedanism has survived, contrariwise, because it came with the many invaders who already had adopted

Islam. This was a Moslem element which Hinduism would tend to build into the structure of itself without demanding change or renunciation. Here is the curious hospitality of the spirit which is marked in Gandhi's thinking, but something entirely foreign to the all-or-none spirit of the great triad of missionary religions such as Judaism, Christianity and Mohammedanism in turn.

Gandhi's attitude towards all the divergent strands in India is primarily an insistence upon their rights, but also and importantly an equal demand for a recognition of their integrity, a universal and illimitable respect for personality. His own sensitiveness of man's inhumanity to man was sharpened by personal experience from the very start of his career. When he decided to go to London in the furtherance of his ambitions, at the age of eighteen, he found he had virtually outlawed himself from his own people, and he proposed to make his way as an alien in a strange land where he would be regarded as a decided inferior. In India his action was regarded as an affront to the pride and heritage of his caste, and so he went through a species of excommunication not dissimilar to that suffered by Spinoza. The verdict was that "this boy shall be treated as an outcast from today. Whosoever helps him, or goes to see him off at the dock, shall be punishable with a fine of one rupee and four annas." As it happened, events did not find him cut off from his roots in any practical fashion, but the difficulties he encountered resulted in his going to South Africa, from which point history soon began to be written in the blood of his own personal suffering.

The complete adjustment necessary in England brought its manifold troubles. Keeping to his vow of refraining from meat, and so confronted with little but overboiled vegetables without condiments, he nearly starved to death until, by accident, he discovered a vegetarian restaurant. His days were lonesome, and he

learned at first hand what it meant to live in a culture which had made no provision for human differences as immediately obvious as his own. He encountered the Theosophists in London, who offered him his first truly sympathetic environment in the West, and who awakened him to his first appreciation for the Bhagavad-Gita. He was introduced to Madame Blavatsky and Mrs. Besant, and followed the great controversy over the latter's conversion to Theosophy, although he himself was not attracted to the society to the extent of joining. He came to see that he could accept theism, however, and that the Hinduism on which he had been inclined to turn his back, as full of superstitions, contained much truth of value to him. Mrs. Besant had rejected the atheism for which she had worked with Charles Bradlaugh, and the discussions in this connection led the youthful Gandhi to realize the intellectual smugness that had crept into his own thinking. His rather miserable two years in England, however punctuated by real stimulation in their high moments—added to the emotional difficulties of his earlier youth—prepared him for the tolerance which provided a bottom for his thinking.

His early encounters with color prejudices in South Africa, leading to the chapter of his high achievement there, had its principal fruits in an association of ideas not often realized in connection with his final attitude. His experience up to the time of his return to India, in 1914—when, at the age of forty-five, he had thought to know some quiet and peace—had developed in him a profound distrust of Western civilization per se. To him it seemed that the evils encountered by him in London, and at the Cape, were entirely due to a worship of material goods. His mind was sharpened in his conception of man as essentially degraded, or taken away from his birthright, whenever mere things could take on a greater importance than the man as such. He wrote that "many problems can be solved by remembering that

money is their God." When either individuals or nations were willing to exploit their weaker fellow creatures in order to gain riches for themselves, the result seemed to be an inevitable intolerance, a particularly cruel selfishness because it was buttressed with concepts and ideas giving it a moral justification. This was at no point a notion that possessions as such, or the luxuries and comforts of life, are an evil, but merely the insight that any multiplying of possessions or complication of needs is wrong when the end result is to reduce the life of the many to a hopeless struggle, or to the loss of all initiative and self-respect in a social subserviency.

Gray and Parekh have suggested that in Ahmedabad, where he lived, there are not only some of the most beautiful buildings in India, memorials to both Hindu and Mohammedan greatness, but also some of the "most unsightly products of modern industrialism, eighty cotton mills, and housing conditions for the operatives which reproduce the worst to be found anywhere." Thus, in his *Hind Swarajya*, Gandhi repudiates all the achievements of science and invention almost completely, and sees an ideal India devoid of mills and machinery, without the printing press or railroads, sacrificing even medical science and hospitals, because all these things have tended to corrupt the simplicity in which man alone can find himself. Few will understand that in this Gandhi is not repudiating the advantages of human invention, or discouraging any betterment in the material way of living, except dramatically or symbolically in an effort to drive home the forgotten principle in modern civilization of first things first. Whatever brings misery is wrong, even if the end seems right, and the attack must be on the wrongness of things at root, that is, the battle must be fought as close to the individual as possible; so that he will understand the issues.

Hence Gandhi might superficially seem to be advocating a return to savagery, but there is the other side

to the coin of his thinking. In 1915 he says, "as a passive resister . . . I discovered that the British Empire had certain ideals with which I have fallen in love, and one of those ideals is that every subject of the British Empire has the freest scope for his energies and honour and whatever he thinks is due to his conscience. I think that this is true of the British Empire as it is not true of any other government. I feel, as you perhaps here know, that I am no lover of any government, and I have more than once said that that government is best which governs least. And I have found that it is possible for me to be governed least under the British Empire. Hence my loyalty to the British Empire." He believed that in World War I the British and the Allies were in the right, and should be supported, because their defeat would be the enthronement of a greater degree of worship of mammon, a greater case of the strong exploiting the weak. India had suffered much from England but Gandhi yet felt that, because they had lived and worked together as two proud peoples for many generations, there was hope in the partnership. If India continued to strive for the recognition of human freedom, and to seek a genuine respect for personality, all other problems would be solved in due course. Here is opportunism again, and perhaps more the spirit of the barrister than the prophet, but at root Gandhi has the single criterion. What for the moment works to the immediate without sacrificing the ultimate best interests of the dumb millions all over the world?

The Hindu mind, perhaps far more than its Western counterpart, remembers that blacks and whites blend into grays continually and variantly as far as life is concerned, and that allegiances must not only be to the white, as seen in the mind, but towards the achievement of the whiteness in every situation at hand. Gandhi wrote the Viceroy of India, "If I could make my countrymen retrace their steps, I would make them with-

draw all the Congress resolutions and not whisper 'home rule' or 'responsible government' during the pendency of the War. I would make India offer all her able-bodied sons as a sacrifice to the Empire at its critical moment, and I know that India, by this very act, would become the most favoured partner, and racial distinctions would become a thing of the past," and to his own fellow Indians, he said, "The gateway to our freedom is on the French soil. My advice to the country would be to fight unconditionally unto death with Britain for victory, and agitate simultaneously, also unto death if we must, for the reforms which we desire." He thought that the sense of British justice, and the feeling of comradeship in the struggle, would bring England and India together, but what happened of course was a complete disillusionment. This threw him back to his basic thesis, namely, that Western civilization was so inherently materialistic that all of its fruits were evil. The war was still in progress when he came to realize this.

He had determined to investigate the conditions of the Behar workers on the indigo plantations personally, and while he was told by the authorities to quit the district, since he might stir up trouble, he went his way, and the result was a commission on which he served and as a result of which he was able to demonstrate that there was something wrong with the whole system of a disguised slave labor. When it came to the famine in Kaira, the government did not consider the failure of the harvest serious enough to require a relief in the assessments upon the peasants and, when the authorities would not suspend the collection of dues, Gandhi suggested Civil Disobedience, with the result that twenty-five hundred refused to make the payments and held firm, despite all persuasions and threats, thus leading the government to give in. It was in the Ahmedabad mill strike, however, that Gandhi found difficulty in holding the strikers firm in waiting for the submission of the

owners to their demands, and this is a point to which he gave much attention later. He explained that he was "fully convinced that no body of men can make themselves into a nation or perform great tasks unless they become as true as steel, and unless their promises come to be regarded by the world like the law of the Medes and Persians, inflexible and unbreakable."

So long as Gandhi was working for the underprivileged masses in matters of socio-economic justice and a normal chance to live, his cause could be understood by all, and it carried a tremendous moral impact. In South Africa he gained the rights to which his own countrymen were entitled, achieving the basic respect for personality which was his one ultimate goal, and in many cases his rallying to the cause of the downtrodden involved none of the difficulties with cross currents and conflicting interests such as complicated and defeated his later work towards the ideal of a free and united India. At the end he was a martyr to the irreconcilable and completely selfish differences between some of the major groups, largely a matter of the inability of the Hindus and Mohammedans to work together. And yet, a Hindu, he was the Moslems' greatest friend. His efforts in their behalf had their foreshadowing in South Africa, and came to the fore most definitely with the Khilafat question, when he showed his sympathy with the Indian Mohammedans in their distress over the Turkish Peace Treaty. The terms of this were announced finally on May 14, 1920. Gandhi at once wrote an open letter to the Viceroy of India.

"The peace terms and your Excellency's defence of them have given the Mussalmans of India a shock from which it will be difficult for them to recover. The terms violate the ministerial pledges and utterly disregard Mussalman sentiment. I consider that, as a staunch Hindu wishing to live on terms of the closest friendship with my Mussalman countrymen, I should be an un-

worthy son of India if I did not stand by them in their hour of trial. In my humble opinion their cause is just. They claim that Turkey must not be punished if their sentiment is to be respected. Muslim soldiers did not fight to inflict punishment upon their own Khalifa or to deprive him of his territories. The Mussalman attitude has been consistent throughout these five years. My duty to the Empire to which I owe my loyalty requires me to resist the cruel violence that has been done to the Mussalman sentiment. So far as I am aware, Mussalman and Hindu have, as a whole, lost faith in British Justice and honour."

As in so many cases of Empire politics, the pledge made in the House of Commons had been violated by the treaty. The Turks were forced to give up territory where Turkish inhabitants were overwhelmingly in the majority. Gandhi was aware of the miserable Turkish misrule in the past, but he thought that nothing was gained by the settlement. The Mohammedans in India were part of the country for which Gandhi envisioned freedom, and he saw that any ultimate unity demanded an equal rallying to the defense of the Moslem minority no less than the Hindu majority. A toe was no less part of a body than a finger. "It is a question, then, for the rest of the Indian population to consider, whether they want to perform a neighbourly duty by their Mussulman countrymen; and if they do, they have the opportunity of a lifetime, which will not occur for another hundred years, to show their goodwill, fellowship and friendship, and to prove what they have been saying for all these long years, that the Mussulman is the brother of the Hindu."

It is here therefore that Gandhi, after his loyal support of the British government in World War I, changed his attitude to one of complete loss of faith in the good intentions of the British government. He wrote the viceroy, on August 1, 1920: "Events that have

happened during the past month have confirmed me in the opinion that the Imperial Government have acted in the Khilāfat matter in an unscrupulous, immoral, and unjust manner, and have been moving from wrong to wrong in order to defend their immorality. I can retain neither respect nor affection for such a Government. Your Excellency's light-hearted treatment of official crime, your exoneration of Sir Michael O'Dwyer, Mr. Montagu's Despatch, and, above all, the shameful ignorance of the Punjab events and the callous disregard of the feelings of Indians betrayed by the House of Lords, have filled me with the gravest misgivings regarding the future of the Empire, have estranged me completely from the present Government, and have disabled me from rendering, as I have hitherto whole-heartedly rendered, my loyal co-operation.

"In my humble opinion the ordinary method of agitating by way of petitions, deputations, and the like, is no remedy for moving to repentance a Government so hopelessly indifferent to the welfare of its charge as the Government of India has proved to be. In European countries condonation of such grievous wrongs as the Khilāfat and the Punjab would have resulted in a bloody revolution by the people. They would have resisted, at all costs, national emasculation. Half of India is too weak to offer violent resistance, and the other half is unwilling to do so. I have therefore ventured to suggest the remedy of non-co-operation, which enables those who wish, to dissociate themselves from Government, and which, if unattended by violence and undertaken in an ordered manner, must compel it to retrace its steps and undo the wrongs committed; but, whilst I pursue the policy of non-co-operation, in so far as I can carry the people with me, I shall not lose hope that you will yet see your way to do justice." Then Gandhi summed up his whole concept of British rule, and his indictment of Western and materialistic civilization. "The difficulty

of Englishmen lies really in believing that their rule is wholly an evil for India, *i.e.* it has made India worse in everything that counts. India is poorer in wealth, in manliness, in godliness and in her sons' power to defend themselves. It is sinful to coquet with evil. There is no meeting ground between good and evil, God and Satan. I have considered for thirty years, and been driven to the conclusion that British rule in its present form has proved a curse to India.

"I consider that I would be less than truthful if I did not describe as satanic a Government which has been guilty of fraud, murder, and wanton cruelty; which still remains unrepentant and resorts to untruth to cover its guilt. I really believe that I am performing the office of a friend by denouncing in precise language the pretensions of a Government which has nothing to commend itself to the people under its charge."

The conception of Gandhi as a mere politician, or the belief that he curried the favor of the Indian Mohammedans because he wanted them to participate in the unity he visioned for all India, is unwarranted oversimplification. It does not give full account to the fundamentally assimilative spirit of the Hindu mind. Gandhi sought to build the Mohammedans into the totality of a freed and independent India, but he also sought, in his eclecticism, to draw the best of Islam as he had drawn the best of Christianity into the living faith which he made his own and which, with all these additions, yet remained in his mind an unquestionably pure and effective Hinduism. During his prolonged stay in South Africa, Gandhi had undertaken a comparative study of religions, and this included a very great deal of reading about Mohammedanism which he says "raised Mohammed in my estimation."

Thus in his evening prayers Gandhi always included some verses from the Scripture of Islam and did not at any point feel a sense of separation between India's Hin-

dus and Moslems in any ultimate sense. The minorities, as functioning groups in a unified whole, must be called upon to fulfill their genius. The remark attributed to Plato, that a diversity of parts is a condition of any unity in a whole, well describes Gandhi's own attitude of genuine respect for personality. Because the Moslem minority was the largest with which he had to deal, his attitude is perhaps best exhibited in connection with his Mohammedan countrymen, and this is revealed very clearly in *Hindu-Muslim Tension*, in 1924. "I am asking my countrymen to adopt non-violence as their final creed, for the purpose of regulating the relations between the different races, and for the purpose of attaining *swaraj*. Hindus and Mussalmans, Christians, Sikhs and Parsis must not settle their differences by resort to violence, and the means for the attainment of *swaraj* must be non-violent. This I venture to place before India, not as a weapon of the weak, but of the strong. Hindus and Mussalmans prate about no compulsion in religion. What is it but compulsion, if Hindus will kill a Mussalman for saving a cow? It is like wanting to convert a Mussalman to Hinduism by force. And similarly what is it but compulsion, if Mussalmans seek to prevent by force Hindus from playing music before mosques? Virtue lies in being absorbed in one's prayers in the presence of din and noise. We shall both be voted irreligious savages by posterity if we continue to make a futile attempt to compel one another to respect our religious wishes.

"I am sure that if we can but revert to our faith, if we ever had any, in non-violence limited only to the two purposes above referred to, the present tension between the two communities will largely subside. For, in my opinion, an attitude of non-violence in our mutual relations is an indispensable condition prior to a discussion of the remedies for the removal of the tension. It must be common cause between the two com-

munities that neither party shall take the law into its own hands, but that all points in dispute, wherever and whenever they arise, shall be decided by reference either to private arbitration, or to the law courts, if they wish. This is the whole meaning of non-violence, so far as communal matters are concerned. To put it another way, just as we do not break one another's heads in respect of civil matters, so may we not do even in respect of religious matters. This is the only pact that is immediately necessary between the parties, and I am sure that everything else will follow. Unless this elementary condition is recognised, we have no atmosphere for considering the ways and means of removing misunderstanding and arriving at an honourable, lasting settlement. But, assuming that the acceptance of the elementary condition will be common cause between the two communities, let us consider the constant disturbing factors.

"My non-violence does not admit of running away from danger and leaving dear ones unprotected. Between violence and cowardly flight, I can only prefer violence to cowardice. I can no more preach non-violence to a cowardly man than I can tempt a blind man to enjoy healthy scenes. Non-violence is the summit of bravery. And in my own experience, I have had no difficulty in demonstrating to men trained in the school of violence the superiority of non-violence. As a coward, which I was for years, I harboured violence. I began to prize non-violence only when I began to shed cowardice. Those Hindus who ran away from the post of duty when it was attended with danger did so not because they were non-violent, or because they were afraid to strike, but because they were unwilling to die or even suffer any injury. A rabbit that runs away from the bull terrier is not particularly non-violent. The poor thing trembles at the sight of the terrier and runs for very life. The way however does not lie through

akhadas. Not that I mind them. On the contrary, I want them for physical culture. Then they should be for all. But, if they are meant as a preparation for self-defence in the Hindu-Mussalman conflicts, they are foredoomed to failure. Mussalmans can play the same game, and such preparations secret or open do but cause suspicion and irritation. They can provide no present remedy. It is for the thoughtful few to make quarrels impossible by making arbitration popular and obligatory.

"My Hindu instinct tells me that all religions are more or less true. All proceed from the same God but all are imperfect because they have come down to us through imperfect human instrumentality. The real *suddhi* movement should consist in each one trying to arrive at perfection in his or her own faith. In such a plan character would be the only test. What is the use of crossing from one compartment to another, if it does not mean a moral rise? What is the meaning of my trying to convert to the service of God (for that must be the implication of *suddhi* or *tabligh*) when those who are in my fold are every day denying God by their actions? 'Physician, heal thyself' is more true in matters religious than mundane. If Hindu-Muslim unity is endangered because an Arya Samaj preacher or a Mussalman preacher preaches his faith in obedience to a call from within, that unity is only skin-deep. Why should we be ruffled by such movements? Only they must be genuine. If the Malkanas wanted to return to the Hindu fold, they had a perfect right to do so whenever they liked. But no propaganda can be allowed which reviles other religions. For, that would be negation of toleration. The best way of dealing with such propaganda is to publicly condemn it. Every movement attempts to put on the cloak of respectability. As soon as the public tear that cloak down, it dies for want of respectability.

"It is now time to examine the treatment of two constant causes of friction. The first is cow slaughter

Though I regard cow protection as the central fact of Hinduism, central because it is common to classes as well as masses, I have never been able to understand the antipathy towards the Mussalmans on that score. We say nothing about the slaughter that daily takes place on behalf of Englishmen. Our anger becomes red-hot when a Mussalman slaughters a cow. All the riots that have taken place in the name of the cow have been an insane waste of effort. They have not saved a single cow, but they have on the contrary stiffened the backs of the Mussalmans and resulted in more slaughter. Cow protection should commence with ourselves. In no part of the world perhaps are cattle worse treated than in India. I have wept to see Hindu drivers goading their jaded oxen with the iron points of their cruel sticks. The half-starved condition of the majority of our cattle are a disgrace to us. The cows find their necks under the butcher's knife because Hindus sell them. The only effective and honourable way is to befriend the Mussalmans and leave it to their honour to save the cow. Cow protection societies must turn their attention to the feeding of cattle, prevention of cruelty, preservation of the fast disappearing pasture land, improving the breed of cattle, buying from poor shepherds and turning *pinjrapoles* into model self-supporting dairies. Hindus do sin against God and man when they omit to do any of the things I have described above. They commit no sin, if they cannot prevent cow slaughter at the hands of Mussalmans, and they do sin grievously when in order to save the cow, they quarrel with the Mussalmans.

"The question of music before mosques, and now even *arati* in Hindu temples, has occupied my prayerful attention. This is a sore point with the Mussalmans as cow slaughter is with the Hindus. And just as Hindus cannot compel Mussalmans to refrain from killing cows, so can Mussalmans not compel Hindus to stop music or

arati at the point of the sword. They must trust to the good sense of the Hindus. As a Hindu, I would certainly advise the Hindus, without any bargaining spirit, to consult the sentiment of their Mussalman neighbours and wherever they can, accommodate him. I have heard that in some places, Hindus purposely and with the deliberate intention of irritating Mussalmans, perform *arati* just when the Mussalman prayers commence. This is an insensate and unfriendly act. Friendship presupposes the utmost attention to the feelings of a friend. It never requires consideration. But Mussalmans should never expect to stop Hindu music by force. To yield to the threat or actual use of violence is a surrender of one's self-respect and religious conviction . . .

"Hindus if they want unity among different races must have the courage to trust the minorities. Any other adjustment must leave a nasty taste in the mouth. Surely the millions do not want to become legislators and municipal councillors. And if we have understood the proper use of Satyagraha, we should know that it can be and should be used against an unjust administrator whether he be a Hindu, Mussalman or of any other race or denomination, whereas a just administrator or representative is always and equally good whether he be a Hindu or Mussalman. We want to do away with the communal spirit. The majority must therefore make the beginning and thus inspire the minorities with confidence in their *bona fides*. Adjustment is possible only when the more powerful take the initiative without waiting for response from the weaker.

"So far as the employment in Government departments is concerned, I think it will be fatal to good government, if we introduce there the communal spirit. For administration to be efficient, it must always be in the hands of the fittest. There should be certainly no favouritism. But if we want five engineers we must not take one from each community but we must take the

fittest five even if they were all Mussalmans or all Parsis. The lowest posts must, if need be, be filled by examination by an impartial board consisting of men belonging to different communities. But distribution of posts should never be according to the proportion of the numbers of each community. The educationally backward communities will have a right to receive favoured treatment in the matter of education at the hands of the national government. This can be secured in an effective manner. But those who aspire to occupy responsible posts in the government of the country, can only do so if they pass the required test.

“For me the only question for immediate solution before the country is the Hindu-Mussalman question. I agree with Mr. Jinnah that Hindu-Muslim unity means *swaraj*. I see no way of achieving anything in this afflicted country without a lasting heart-unity between Hindus and Mussalmans of India. I believe in the immediate possibility of achieving it, because it is so natural, so necessary for both, and because I believe in human nature. Mussalmans may have much to answer for. I have come in closest touch with even what may be considered a ‘bad lot.’ I cannot recall a single occasion when I had to regret it. The Mussalmans are brave, they are generous and trusting, the moment their suspicion is disarmed. Hindus living as they do in glass houses have no right to throw stones at their Mussalman neighbours. See what we have done, are still doing, to the suppressed classes!

“God does not punish directly. His ways are inscrutable. Who knows that all our woes are not due to that one black sin? The history of Islam, if it betrays aberrations from the moral height, has many a brilliant page. In its glorious days it was not intolerant. It commanded the admiration of the world. When the West was sunk in darkness a bright star rose in the eastern firmament and gave light and comfort to a groaning world. Islam

is not a false religion. Let Hindus study it reverently, and they will love it even as I do. If it has become gross and fanatical here, let us admit that we have had no small share in making it so. If Hindus set their house in order, I have not a shadow of doubt that Islam will respond in a manner worthy of its past liberal traditions. The key to the situation lies with the Hindus. We must shed timidity or cowardice. We must be brave enough to trust, and all will be well."

APHORISMS OF SATYAGRAHA

One of Gandhi's outstanding admirers in the West, Romain Rolland, in his essay, *Mahatma Gandhi, The Man Who Became One With The Universal Being* (translated by Catherine D. Groth, New York, The Century Company, 1924), explains that the title Mahatma, made up of the two Sanskrit words, maha or great and atma or soul, goes back to the Upanishads, "where it is used in speaking of the Supreme Being, and, through communion of Knowledge and Love, of those who become One with Him" and that "Tagore," who visited the ashrama, "Gandhi's favorite retreat," applied to Gandhi the stanza:

He is the One Luminous, Creator of All, Mahatma,
Always in the hearts of the people enshrined,
Revealed through Love, Intuition, and Thought,
Whoever knows Him, Immortal becomes . . .

Towards the end of his essay Rolland compares the approach to the problems of the world through the method of a spiritual impact by peaceful means, as this is exemplified in Gandhi and Tagore. "One of Gandhi's disciples, professor at the school that lies nearest his heart, the *Satyagraha Ashram* of Sabarmati at Ahmedabad, Mr. D. B. Kalelkar, writes a 'Gospel of Swadeshi' (Madras, 1922), which Gandhi, in a preface, stamps with his approval." Swadeshi, from the Sanskrit word for native, is the movement for national autonomy, and has been used somewhat interchangeably with swaraj, which comes from the Sanskrit term for self-ruling and means political independence, that is, a more out and

out national self-government. Hence the latter term, as capitalized, is the name used by the Indian party which demands complete independence. Rolland explains *swadeshi* is not to be interpreted as meaning merely the boycott of foreign goods, as it did to the minds of many, but rather and in the words of its advocates, "a vast religious principle that will rid the world of strife and hatred and liberate humanity." This concept is the ruling idea of Gandhi, and Romain Rolland quotes Kalelkar to explain it. "Now and then God is incarnated on earth to redeem the world. His incarnation need not necessarily be in human form . . . He may be manifest in an abstract principle or in an ideal which uplifts the world . . . His latest incarnation is in the 'Gospel of Swadeshi' . . ." The fundamental principle of *swadeshi* springs from faith in God who, in the quotation selected by Rolland, "has provided, in all eternity, for the happiness of the world. This God has placed each human being in the environment best suited for the fulfilment of his task. A man's work and his aspirations should be suited to his position in the world. We cannot choose our culture any more than our birth, family, or country. We must accept what God has given us; we must accept tradition as coming from God and regard it as a strict duty to live up to it. To renounce tradition would be sinful."

Hence "the follower of *Swadeshi* never takes upon himself the vain task of trying to reform the world, for he believes that the world is moved and always will be moved according to rules set by God . . . One must not expect the people of one country to provide for the needs of another, even for philanthropic reasons, and if it were possible, it would not be desirable . . . The true follower of *Swadeshi* does not forget that every human being is his brother, but that it is incumbent on him to fulfil the task his particular environment has laid down for him. Just as we must work out our salvation in the

century in which we are born, we should serve the country in which we are born. The emancipation of our soul should be sought through religion and our own culture . . . We should avoid being intimate with those whose social customs are different from ours. We should not mingle in the lives of men or peoples whose ideals are different from ours . . . Every man is a brook. Every nation is a river. They must follow their course, clear and pure, till they reach the Sea of Salvation, where all will blend."

To Rolland, while recognizing that there are in this gospel "words of great moral force and beauty," the whole is yet medieval and reactionary. "What is this but the triumph of nationalism? The narrowest and most unpolluted? Stay at home, shut all doors, change nothing, hold on to everything, export nothing, buy nothing, uplift and purify body and spirit!" He adds, "and Gandhi, of the broad mind, lets his name be associated with it!" He feels that Tagore's bewilderment, in the light of these ideas of Gandhi, is entirely comprehensible, explaining that Tagore was "particularly sensitive to such writings since there had sprung up a sort of rivalry between Gandhi's *Asbham* (where this 'Gospel' was written) and Tagore's *Santiniketan*, a rivalry which both men tried to smooth out."

Rolland then goes on to say that, to his mind, Gandhi is as universal as Tagore, but in a different way, that is, "through his religious feeling," whereas Tagore is "intellectually universal." Gandhi, while "a universalist of the Middle Ages" has a "real doctrine" which is "much broader, much more human, much more universal" than that expressed by Kalelkar. Here is seen clearly the failure of the Western mind to catch the inner spirit or deeper genius of Hinduism of which Gandhi, however haltingly, is the leading modern exponent and perhaps new messiah. It is quite probable that, if the apotheosis of Gandhi runs to the end of the tether, the end result

will be no more a revivification of Hinduism than Christianity turned out to be a revived Judaism of the Temple. However, as the real roots of the Christian faith are in *Deuteronomy*, in the holiness code of *Leviticus* and in *Jeremiah*, so the source and sustenance of Gandhi's ideas are in the Upanishads and the Gita. His syncretism with its admixture of Buddhist, Zoroastrian, Christian and Moslem ideas would develop on no different a pattern than exhibited by early Christianity under the influence of the Greeks through the Stoic impact on Paul at Tarsus, or the Neo-Platonic conditioning transmitted through Augustine, and with the earlier and hidden shaping by Persian concepts surviving in the Jewish apocalypse and encountered again in Manichaeism inherent in Augustine's thinking. Rolland is less sensitive to the rooting of spiritual ideas in man's experience and traditions than to the dangers concomitant upon a marshaling of the forces for non-resistance, and he seems to have little conception of what is accomplished by the soul force engendered.

Sitting at his wife's pyre, Gandhi was heard to whisper, "I strongly believe thoughts travel, even if they are not expressed in words." The world, in other words, is not activated by physical impacts alone, or even most importantly. The billiard-ball physics, which grew apace with Western materialism and has only been unseated in these present days, is not a true picture of the cosmos on the physical side, and certainly provides no parallel for the nature of the universe in any spiritual frame of reference. It must not be forgotten that Gandhi early regarded himself as a disciple of Tolstoy, and that his conceptions were in no wise an East Indian isolationism, actually or intellectually. Tolstoy saw Gandhi's work as "most essential," and in a sense saw it as an extension of his own, but Gandhi will probably always remain, at least for the average person, the one great exponent of this particular technique in political con-

flict. Gandhi was no less sensitive than Romain Rolland, or Tagore himself, to the fact that non-violence slips over all too easily into the unleashing of far from spiritual passions.

Rolland discusses the problem at some length. "When Gandhi, explaining why he advocates the burning of precious stuffs in Bombay in August, 1921, says to Andrews, Tagore's friend, that 'He is transferring ill will from men to things,' he does not realize that the fury of the masses is gathering impetus, and that instinctively these masses reason, 'Things first, men next!' He does not foresee that in this same Bombay, less than three months afterward, *men* will be killing *men*." Rolland then adds, somewhat condescendingly, that "Gandhi is too much of a saint; he is too pure, too free from the animal passions that lie dormant in man. He does not dream that they lie there, crouching within the people, devouring his words and thriving on them." Rolland suggests that the mob cannot be curbed by the moral precepts of a Gandhi, but that "the only way, perhaps, to prevent it from running wild, the only way, perhaps, of making it yield docilely to the austere discipline of the master, would be for him to pose as an incarnated god, as those who paint him as Sri-Krishna secretly hope he will do. But Gandhi's sincerity and his humility prevent him from playing the rôle." Rolland's final paragraph for this part of his essay is not without a tinge of prophecy. "Planing above the roaring human ocean alone, remains the single voice of the purest of men, but only a man. How long will it be heard? Grandiose and tragic waiting!"

Some loving disciple of Gandhi, whose anonymity seems secure, compiled an anthology of Gandhi's sayings, apparently in the middle twenties, and these have been published as *Great Thoughts of Mahatma Gandhi* (Madras, Ganesh & Co.). The arrangement is topical, starting with one hundred and fourteen quotations on

the subject of satyagraha, or the doctrine of political and religious non-violence as this stemmed from Gandhi's great disillusionment with the good faith of the British government in 1919. Here is the organization in social terms of what Gandhi has otherwise described as soul force, the mobilization of a moral as against a physical compulsion. The fact that this selection of Gandhi's words has been made by a Hindu mind helps give the Western reader a needed orientation in any understanding of Gandhi's major concept. Not all the aphorisms need be quoted, but thirty-nine can be taken with advantage, in the order they are found in this little book, and used as a basis for comment on the special character of Gandhi's philosophical attitudes and psychological reactions.

"Lord, Lead India towards the path of truth; this doing, teach her the religion of Swadeshi, and knit the Hindus, Mussalmans, Parsis, Christians and Jews living in India closer together." Here is Gandhi's theme. The religion of India is to be a fellowship of religions, none taking from the other but all living in the common responsibility for the whole, a responsibility to which each would make a contribution in its own way. Swadeshi, or freedom, is not to throw off the yoke of the British, only to impose the tyranny of other men's ideas and socio-economic advantage. This is the path of truth because truth only can mean an arrival at expectation, and ultimate truth only that which all men, because of their own very nature and experience, expect no less and no more than all other men.

"The best and quickest way to deliverance from the distrust and secret Police Department is to rid the country of false fear and all violence. But till that far-off day arrives the handful of Satyagrahis must be prepared to treat the Prison as their second home." There is no ultimate reality except through the use of that which has entered experience, and if the peoples of

India cannot rid themselves of the inner fears or suspicions which divide men against each other, and of the outer impositions which turn them to preying upon each other, there is no other course for them but to dramatize the real nature of their situation by a voluntary acceptance of the greater repression which speaks the language of all minds, and quickens all minds to more effective insights. Prison and actual confinement of the outer man may alone symbolize the captivity of the inner spirit, and thus enable it to stir to its own potential.

"We can see how the world is moving steadily to realise that between nation and nation, as between man and man, force has failed to solve problems, but that the economic sanction of non-co-operation is far more mighty and conclusive than armies and navies." Here is the lesson that World War II has been teaching the Western world, namely, that conflicts are waged with women and hearts, children, and all the last precious values of human living. Military might requires the factory, civilian morale and a people's spirit.

"Till a new energy is harnessed and put on wheels, the captains of the older energies will treat the innovation as theoretical, impractical, idealistic, and so on." No person ever grasps the meaning of the new when the old is of any particular special advantage to him. This is the psychologist's fallacy, as described by William James. Gandhi goes back to those primitive acceptances which are so far rooted in the nature of man that no selfish class and national lines can ever be built upon them, or can ever use them for the advantage of the some as against the others. Thus Gandhi regresses to near-nakedness and utter individual simplicity, in order to find the least common denominator of men's mutual problems.

"Disobedience to be civil must be sincere, respectful, restrained, never defiant, must be based upon some

well-understood principles, must not be capricious and, above all, must have no ill-will or hatred behind it." Here is Gandhi's answer to Tagore and the others, who felt that his arousing of the masses would mean only that they would get out of hand, and end up using the very violence and repressive measures from which they have suffered in perhaps a more gloved and legalized form. Thought travels, as Gandhi has remarked, and idea prevails, as Plato has explained in Western-world philosophy.

"Undisciplined agitation which is a paraphrase of violence of speech or deed, can only retard national growth and bring about even unmerited retribution." Gandhi precipitated more than he anticipated because his build-up in idea, and in dramatization of the inherent weight of the masses, had not been sufficient to hold the more turbulent elements in line. As he learned from experience, however, so must all men likewise, in every phase of human progress.

"No nations have ever risen without sacrifice and sacrifice can only be spoken of in connection with innocence and not with crime." The sacrifice of a Socrates for the integrity of mind, and of Jesus for the integrity of faith, and of Gandhi himself for the integrity of the masses' honor, is the sole basis of any understanding which the average man can grasp. Hence it is that men must die for causes. The innocence of Socrates and Jesus, and of Gandhi—suffering for truth in the widest possible sense—is their contribution which enables men to realize these spiritual principles of existence.

"Before we become a nation possessing an effective voice in the councils of the nations, we must be prepared to contemplate with equanimity, not a thousand murders of innocent men and women but many thousands. Only then can we attain a status in the world that shall not be surpassed by any nation." Gandhi had no delusions of grandeur. He himself was willing,

to die, but he thought that perhaps many thousands or millions might have to do likewise before satyagraha could in truth be a moving force for the world at large. Perhaps he was right. The beauty in as ugly a specter as war in the West is the circumstance that untold thousands of young men were willing to die cheerfully as a means for preserving those values for which they would have much preferred to live.

"I do not believe in armed risings. They are a remedy worse than the disease sought to be cured. They are a token of the spirit of revenge and impatience and anger. The method of violence cannot do good in the long run." Here Gandhi reiterates the teaching of Jesus, that those who live by the sword will only perish by the sword.

"We have a better method. Unlike that of violence it certainly involves the exercise of restraint and patience; but it requires also resoluteness of will." The appeal of violence is fundamentally the appeal to action because men instinctively know that they cease to exist when they cease to act, and that only as a man acts is he true to his birthright, but what Gandhi sees is that this same will to survive in self-expression can be enlisted through restraint and patience, and directed even more effectively into a channeling of peace, if only it is called on for a resoluteness equal to that which force exacts.

"Most people choose rather to yield to the will of the tyrant than to suffer for the consequence of resistance. Hence does terrorism form part of the stock-in-trade of the tyrant." Gandhi well sees that all human weakness is ultimately a matter of the green pastures or *mañana* fallacy, the infinite regression to the remote by which man alone surrenders his own soul.

"It is the right of a citizen to withdraw his co-operation from the state when that co-operation means his degradation." What Gandhi realizes instinctively

is that co-operation is a two-way proposition, utterly ineffective unless both parties to the mutual action or relationship are making a contribution which equalizes in the light of their respective resources and skills. The state is the creature of the citizen ultimately, unless indeed it is the false structure organized and maintained by the tyrant, and so the true citizen must maintain a co-operation with the ideal which alone can become the state in any actuality.

"Non-co-operation becomes a duty when co-operation means degradation or humiliation or an injury to one's cherished religious sentiment." Unless man is true to himself, he cannot be true to anyone else, and there is no loyalty in community ties, religious faith or any form of personal, business or governmental relationship which does not provide a continual outlet for the best and deepest in every man's own innermost nature.

"The power that an individual or a nation forswearing violence generates is a power that is irresistible. But my argument today against violence is based upon pure expedience, i.e., its utter futility." For the irresistibility which Gandhi envisions, the whole-hearted and understanding co-operation of the masses is necessary, and this paradoxically cannot be had until it is had, that is, it must be experienced to be possessed, and so for its starting it has to be primed. The priming is the attack upon its opposite, and Gandhi moves against violence by showing its futility.

"A violent speech is often as injurious as a violent deed. And I am sure that you will not spoil a cause that is just and sacred by any hasty word or action." Thus men must watch their words no less than their acts, because words are acts in exactly the same fashion that thoughts and actions are the same. Hastiness and thoughtlessness are untrue to the steady and deeper root springs of being, and so men must build the slow

but sure realization that gives its real power to this new political weapon.

"We must secure an atmosphere of enlightened non-violence as fast as possible, not the non-violence of the weak but the non-violence of the strong, who would disdain to kill but would gladly die for the vindication of the truth." The distinction between the non-violence of the weak and of the strong is most important. Mere pacifism or an idle martyrdom, if not self-debasement, is a futile show-off and a perversion of the spirit in a display of egotism. Restraint in strength is the dignity of man, whereas fear to act or to commit the self is the beginning not only of frustration, but of every ultimate self-debasement.

"The end to me is just. I fight to bolster up no fraud or injustice. The means are equally just. In the prosecution of the fight, Truth and Non-violence are the only weapons." Gandhi knows that, as far as he is concerned, all considerations must begin with himself. Hence he assures himself that the whole of his being can be poured into this effort, which miscarried so dramatically in many respects, and yet achieved at least some of its objectives so effectively in 1919.

"Once the infallibility of non-co-operation is realised, there is an end to all blood-shed and violence in any shape or form." Man is a social animal, unable to live or have being except as the reality which is himself flows in and out of his fellows. This is perhaps the very root realization of Hinduism, when properly understood. It is not the mechanical doctrine that man exists for the state, as a species of cog in the machine—and so is far removed from the thinking of Locke, Hobbes and so many Western philosophers—but is rather the spiritual atonement which constitutes man an immortal fellow with his kind, and which in the present day is the principal teaching of the Vedanta and the more philosophical representations of Hindu thought

in the Western world. Thus the man of violence, deprived of fellowship with his own sort, simply withers away, even as in the vision of Karl Marx the destructive elements of society will wither similarly for lack of the sustenance they have gained from their exploitation of the proletariat.

"Sages of old mortified the flesh, so that the spirit within might be set free, so that their trained bodies might be proof against any injury that might be inflicted on them by a tyrant seeking to impose his will on them." The key here is in the concept of trained bodies. The average man knows nothing but the testimony of the flesh, as far as his fellowship with others is concerned. When he sees how the man of God has a flesh-exhibited constancy which he himself has not yet learned, he is stirred and comes to desire it for himself. It is in pursuance of this principle that the spirit of God told the prophet Ezekiel that he would be steeled against the stubbornness of the Hebrews in Babylon, showing them a strength that had meaning in their own experience.

"I would risk violence a thousand times than risk the emasculation of a whole race." Here is Gandhi's choice in another phase. It is better for the quickened dumb millions to get out of hand than for them never to act at all in their newborn self-realization. Tyrants only exist as they are able to emasculate their people in a very true sense. However violent the underground and resistance movements were in the West during the last war they yet gave testimony to the inherent dignity of man, his refusal to surrender his manhood no matter what the promise might be of food and clothes, of peace and security. At the end they had resisted the siren appeals which characterize the demagogues, the bosses and the dictators of every age.

"I do believe that, where there is only a choice between cowardice and violence, I would advise vio-

lence." Cowardice is the acceptance of emasculation, hence anything else is better.

"I am not a visionary. I claim to be a practical idealist. The religion of non-violence is not meant merely for the Rishis and Saints. It is meant for the common people as well." Society is made up of the common man, and so must be created with the common man. Gandhi accepts caste in a functional sense, so that there is special work for the rishis and saints, for the avatars and the consecrated souls such as himself. Theirs is a job of dramatization and leadership. If no mahatma can know life in its lowly terms, no great ones can ever live their lives for the many.

"Non-violence is the law of our species as violence is the law of the brute. The spirit lies dormant in the brute and he knows no law but that of physical might. The dignity of man requires obedience to a higher law—to the strength of the spirit." Here is one of the greatest insights in Gandhi's words, a realization he has shared with so many of the great thinkers of all time but one to which the average philosopher and psychologist is entirely blinded, namely, the realization that every man within his total potentiality is what the best of all men can be collectively. Man is not primarily the victim of his conditioning or the product of his age and society, however much he depends upon these things, but he is of himself a god. Hence Jesus can reaffirm in *John* what *Psalms* has said—concerning those to whom the thought of God, or the desire to live the things of God, has come—"Ye are gods."

"Non-co-operation is nothing if it does not strike at the root. And you strike at the root when you cease to water this deadly tree of the British Government by means of open and honorable non-co-operation." The root, of course, is economic. The prosperity of England depended all too largely upon commercial advantages in the Colonies. Wealth was conceived as

something to be taken out and enjoyed, not as something to be shared or paid for in any reasonable kind. Hence the beginning would be a complete refusal to participate in this game of empire commerce, with its loaded dice.

"There is bound to be non-co-operation, wherever there is evil, oppression and injustice, whether anybody wishes it or not." What Gandhi is doing is organizing the actual state of affairs which he has elsewhere described so vividly, transforming this into a positive instrument of social action. The inertness and lassitude of the Indian masses is at root a lack of participation, or a true non-co-operation in the world of trade, so that all relationships between Great Britain and India were poison psychologically and could only lead to violence ultimately, whether the quiet kind taking the form of economic exploitation, or the more violent clashes when the different lines of special privilege inevitably got tangled up in each other.

"When the people have one mind and ability of management, and recognise the necessity of non-violence, if only as a business proposition, Swaraj is won." Here is Gandhi's answer to those who, like Romain Rolland, interpret him as isolationist because he sees clearly at all times that no individual can live in a vacuum, and so no nation. Better than the economists of his age, Gandhi realizes that the balance of trade is ultimately a global proposition. The world's many peoples, getting themselves well organized and in hand, can trade or share with advantage through every channel of trade, and can do so ultimately without artificial restraints or trade barriers, cartels or custom unions.

"Civil disobedience is not a state of lawlessness and license, but presupposes a law-abiding spirit combined with self-restraint." There may be a violation of man's arbitrary law and even a destruction of property when

some entrenched group, to maintain its special privilege, insists upon forcing the penetration of goods and services and the collection of tithes and taxes. Americans will well understand the principle when they look back to their own early struggle towards independence and remember the Boston Tea Party.

"No certificate of merit from the world will give us success, if we have not earned it by the sweat of the brow." Nothing is real except as it is created by the individual directly or indirectly, as Gandhi has made abundantly clear. The rightness of satyagraha is not a philosophical or even a legal proposition, but a full and complete expression of the Hindu people, resting firmly upon their willingness to rise or fall on the basis of their own socio-economic productivity.

"At the present moment, the Governing authority has no respect for us or for our feelings. We have no faith in it. In these circumstances co-operation is a crime." Any supposed co-operation is only lip service, reducing the respect that the British might have for the Indians, and in the soul of each Indian only debasing him, so that under the circumstances it all adds up to evil unless the Indians assert themselves and do so on the basis of the truth which they can live and in which human personality has an actual fulfillment.

"Complete civil disobedience is rebellion without the element of violence in it. An out and out civil resister simply ignores the authority of the state." The state has no authority in Gandhi's mind because it has abstracted itself from the only reality in which the Indians can participate. Life continues on its accustomed pattern, however, as far as possible, and all the spiritual and ethical values of the community are preserved as in the fairly comparable American bank holiday of the nineteen-thirties. An overstructure which exists to facilitate the national life has merely collapsed, and proved itself worthless for the moment. Every-

one extemporizes, and for the major part becomes more of a man for doing so because he learns that he can survive on his own initiative and, when worst comes to worst, maintain the society of which he is a part. After all this society in its potential is nothing more than the sum of all the participations in it by himself and his fellows.

"Civil resistance is a most powerful expression of soul-anguish and an eloquent protest against the continuance of an evil state." When external and physical participations break down, the inner and spiritual ones must be enhanced in compensation. As time is the great healer, suffering is the great purifier and the true creator of enduring reality.

"When a Government becomes lawless in an organised manner, civil disobedience becomes a sacred duty and is the only remedy open specially to those who had no hand in the making of the Government or its laws." Lawfulness and lawlessness are entirely matters of the perspective in which the words are employed. Obedience to the eternal and spiritual law in the long run brings in train the possibility, and the only possibility, of a complete obedience: to all the lesser laws of the nation and the community, to every principle of everyday personal relationships, and even to the requirements of the appetites and drives of the physical body.

"Human nature in India has advanced so far that the doctrine of non-violence is more natural for the people at large than that of violence." Gandhi here sees that the several millennia from the coming of the early Aryans to India—and the development of the Vedanta—have had their best fruits in the preciousness of Hindu character. To this he is never untrue, nor does he ever cease to yield allegiance to the real and inner meaning of all phases of Hindu life and religion, however corrupt and superstitious they may become

in their outer form. The pearl of great price is the age-steeled Hindu heart, and on this Gandhi knows that he can build.

"The only virtues I want to claim are truth and non-violence. I lay no claim to superhuman powers, I want none. I wear the same corruptible flesh that the weakest of my fellow beings wears, and I am therefore as liable to err as any." Gandhi well knows that there is no difference between the natural and the supernatural, except as some delimitation in human understanding may be marked out, and that similarly there is no distinction between the human and the superhuman except of quantity, quality or kind. He is as weak as the weakest of the dumb masses and as strong as the strongest, because they all flow each in and through the other in the effectiveness of their heritage, and in the ultimate and all-assimilative fellowship of which they are capable. Here is where Gandhi becomes in truth the avatar, speaking for the seed-man or seed-manu, on the one side, and for the root-man or root-manu, on the other.

"The path of a Satyagrahi is beset with insurmountable difficulties. But in true Satyagraha there is neither disappointment nor defeat. As truth is all powerful, Satyagraha can never be defeated." The inevitability which Gandhi envisions has only once to become enthroned in the Hindu heart to become act and reality. The momentary setbacks may teach their lessons, and serve to challenge the individual to greater effort, but nothing of the sort can be accepted as even a partial denial of the achievement and promise.

"Just as fire by its touch removes all dirt from things so Satyagraha will remove all miseries and pains. It is a 'panacea of all evils.'" Here is the baptism by fire in the Christian doctrines, the self-purification of the Mythraic cult in Persian thought, the realization in all religions that only as man's true personality is exalted

and respected can human society be anything else but a living torment.

"We may no longer believe in the doctrine of tit for tat; we may not meet hatred by hatred, violence by violence, evil by evil, but we have to make a continuous and persistent effort to return good for evil." Hence Gandhi insists upon the creative flow of man's real self out from his own center, upon far more than a mere reflexive response to the conditions around him.

"None can hope to rise without fulfilling this eternal law of purification through suffering. Progress is to be measured by the amount of suffering undergone by the sufferer." Everything depends upon the individual ultimately, and so Gandhi speaks to all men, as well as to his fellow Hindus. He realizes that India, through the ages, has been well prepared for this basic lesson of suffering, but this is not something that India must hold selfishly as her own.

"Our fight has for its object friendship with the whole world. Non-violence has come amongst men and it will stay. It is the harbinger of the peace of the World." Here is his credo and his contribution. If he is in truth to be ranked among the avatars, this is his message. Perhaps the time is here for the world to begin to realize the effectiveness of his teaching, and to begin an implementation of the vision and ideals for which he died.

SEVEN

THE MORAL DYNAMIC

Respect for personality has its beginning when personality respects itself, and the problem of a spiritual leader such as Gandhi is to quicken each individual to a genuinely creative self-reliance. No man can enter into the lives of his fellows, or gain any self-realization as the social creature he will have become in his own right, except as he has developed something to share with them. As he finds he can do this he acquires a moral dynamic, or a desire for that significance in other lives which alone can exalt his own. Thus Gandhi not only makes his ethical demands upon the individual, but insists that each individual join him in action for the welfare of all. Since the Untouchables were the most inert group among India's dumb millions, Gandhi concentrated particularly on the amelioration of their lot and pointed out that such minorities as the Sikhs and Moslems were well organized, so that their assistance in the general cause could be gained by negotiation. The Untouchables, contrariwise, had been without leadership and were lacking in any conception that they themselves might do anything for the improvement of their own situation. They knew of nothing they could contribute to the freeing of India, or to the lifting of Hindu life to a greater potential, and in consequence Gandhi's message had to be simplified down to the point where it had the needed bottom effectiveness through its meaning to them as India's lowest social stratum. He gained his strength in the hope which he called forth from them, and which he embodied in his person as they shared it with him. He then estab-

lished a moral dynamic in which all India could be unified, a genuinely universal and common regard for human well-being as such.

Of the greatest help to Gandhi in this achievement was the fact that his own primary interest had always been therapeutic, or a matter of personal ministration to the sick. Even in South Africa, in the hours when his legal activity did not engross him, he had volunteered his services in an attendance upon the bed-ridden, and he had then expressed regret that he was the lawyer rather than physician. He learned at first hand that the greatest of all realities are immediate, or an everspreading self-realization in that absolute directness of touch from heart to heart through which the most hopeless of men come to differ in no essential respect from the more fortunate among their kind. Such a reality is beyond any cancellation by the external accidents of life and experience, and thus provides the best of all possible foundations for the self-reliance on which India's caste system ideally is supposed to rest, that is, an inner confidence in the unimpeachable integrity of self. This is the dignity of simple individuality which was adopted by Gandhi as the basis for his swadeshi movement. At a missionary conference in India, as early as 1916, he defined swadeshi as "that spirit in us which restricts us to the use and service of our immediate surroundings to the exclusion of the more remote," i.e., defeating every possible infinite regression of personal frustration and of surrender to various hierarchies of outer compulsions. Here Gandhi broke with Tagore, his countryman, and with all those who seek to make a helplessly static here and now more tolerable by the vision of a wonderful by-and-by.

"The poet lives for tomorrow, and would have us do likewise," Gandhi has remarked, with considerable bitterness, "He presents to our admiring gaze the beautiful picture of the birds in the early morning singing

hymns of praise as they soar into the sky. These birds had their day's food, and soared with rested wings in whose new veins new blood had flown from the previous night. But I have the pain of watching birds who for want of strength could not be coaxed even into a flutter of their wings. The human bird under the Indian sky gets up weaker than when he pretended to retire. For millions it is an eternal vigil or an eternal trance. It is an indescribably painful state which has to be experienced to be realised. I have found it impossible to soothe suffering patients with a song from Kabir. The hungry millions ask for one poem, invigorating food. They cannot be given it. They must earn it. And they can earn only by the sweat of their brow."

Jawaharlal Nehru has pointed out in this connection that Gandhi "had little sense of beauty or artistry in man-made objects, though he admired natural beauty. The Taj Mahal was for him an embodiment of forced labour and little more." Actually Gandhi was not insensible to art, but he demanded that it serve man as a spiritual release of the individual's power rather than as a material agency for the spirit's enslavement. Of khaddar, Gandhi said, "It stands for simplicity, not shoddiness. It sits well on the shoulders of the poor and it can be made, as it was made in the days of yore, to adorn the bodies of the richest and the most artistic men. It is reviving ancient art and crafts." The spinning wheel he thought was "the sun round which all the other handicrafts revolve. . . . India need not despair of seeing a revival of the fine, rich and coloured garments of old which were once the envy and despair of the world. A semi-starved nation can have neither religion nor art nor organization. A spinning wheel alone can stop this reckless waste. Owing to this waste we are living in a state of suspended animation. It can be revived only if every home is again turned into a spinning mill and every village into a weaving mill.

With it will at once revive the ancient rustic art and the rustic song."

Although seeking to develop the handicrafts of India, Gandhi never lost sight of the need for developing the artistic taste of the poorer classes, since beauty added to utility would ultimately enhance the moral dynamic and give it a special power through the increasing possibilities of personal excellence and of the pride of a true artist. The doctrine of first things first made it necessary to consider the economic factors, but Gandhi well understood that socio-economic reform is self-defeating if it never moves on beyond things as such, supplying merely the needs and physical comforts of mankind. He could well echo the *Old Testament* dictum used by Jesus for routing the devil in the psychological drama of the great temptation, namely, that "man shall not live by bread alone." Gandhi promoted various expositions and insisted that the A.I.S.A. khadi stores should "aim primarily at quality, never at mere show . . . should be original, should introduce village arts in towns and have confidence that they will win the day." The visitor to India, who sees filth and misery, has an eye that is quickened to the unfamiliar and blind to the quite equivalent deficiencies of human society in other lands and cultures. The fastidiousness of Gandhi has been a surprise to many who thought him content with a cult of ugliness, and assumed this to mean a tolerance of insensibility and dirt. When Winston Churchill ridiculed Gandhi as a "half-naked fakir," he missed the point explained clearly enough by Gandhi, to whom things are ever symbols rather than realities.

"Here then is no question of loin-cloth civilization. The adoption of the loin-cloth was for me a necessity. But in so far as the loin-cloth also spells simplicity let it represent Indian civilization." On another occasion he said, "Surely the style of the dress has some cor-

respondence with our environment. . . . An Indian wearing a shirt flowing over his pyjamas with a waistcoat on it without a necktie and its flaps hanging loose behind is not a very graceful spectacle." Relative to shoddiness and filth, several of his remarks are significant. "I have fallen in love with the women of Malabar. Barring Assam I have not yet seen the women of India so simply yet elegantly dressed as the women of Malabar . . . How can a flag that is a mere clout and is dyed anyhow evoke the feelings of great reverence that one associates with a national flag?" His philosophy relative to the ugly and destructive is fully a piece of his over-all thinking. Thus he believed that sanitation was "the very foundation of all constructive work and qualification for *swaraj* . . ." indeed, "I have a horror of dirt. I should not eat out of a dirty plate nor touch a dirty spoon or kerchief, but I believe in removing dirt to its proper place where it ceased to be dirt."

There is wide testimony to his real artistic sense, his love of the Sanskrit language, his recognition of the excellencies of all sorts in man's handiwork. The testimony of an artist to Gandhi's attitude in this connection is well worth noting. Nandalal Bose writes in the volume issued for Gandhi's seventy-fifth birthday that it would be a great mistake to think of Gandhi as in blind revolt against all the fruits of civilization, or to dismiss his rejection of machines as an unreasoning prejudice. "We artists would interpret his view in this way. Machine-made articles may be useful and may add to the material wealth of nations, but they are totally incapable of expressing or communicating the spirit of creation. Mahatmaji's view represents the true feeling of artists. Any craft which does not bear the stamp of the artists's personality and his mind cannot express the *rasa* or the indwelling spirit of art. There is no universal way of expressing art; only the essence of art is universal. If it were otherwise, creation would

not have had such wonderful diversity. To achieve harmony in a world of such diversity is the role of the Supreme Artist. This is true of the human artist as well. Art is eternally the same but its revelation to each individual artist is different and there lies the source of originality in art. Mass-produced articles . . . bring about barrenness, disharmony and maladjustment in society. Though machines add much to man's material wealth they leave his mind starved of the joys of creation. Instead of developing divine attributes man degenerates into a mere animal.

"To the best of their abilities artists endeavour to utilize simple materials and equipment in the creation of art. Artists use as few and as simple materials as possible because they can thus express themselves better, and not because they have any inborn aversion to instruments or machines. I shall now give an instance of how simple things can help in creating beauty and in drawing a sympathetic artist towards Nature. A description of my first meeting with Bapuji at Sevagram will illustrate my point. The cottage was slightly bigger than an average one in the village. It had verandahs on three sides, a tiled roof and a number of doors and windows for admitting light and air. The floor and the walls were plastered over with cow-dung; a mat was kept in one corner with a folded khaddar sheet and a pillow or cushion thereon for sitting and resting. To the right of the khaddar seat were a few packing cases of deal-wood and cardboard containing letters and files. In front was a packing case covered with khaddar to serve as a writing desk, on one side a large bottle of clear boiled drinking water, a small polished Gujarati *lota* of bell-metal covered with an iron-sheet shaped like a *pipal* leaf, and a small bamboo basket. Although the room was merely plastered over with cow-dung it had an atmosphere of cleanliness, tidiness and quiet beauty. There was no picture, photograph, figure or statue in

the room. There were one or two niches, bordered by some reliefs made by Miraben out of clay."

What is all-essential in Gandhi's thinking is the functional service of things to spirit. It is only when man becomes the slave of the machine that evil results. Not only are the handicrafts a way of getting down to bottom as a first step in leading India's masses upwards, but the handicrafts are the best of all educative agencies in making a true social creature of each individual while yet enhancing his individuality. Gandhi's approach at this point squares with the basic pedagogical theory of John Dewey in the Western world. Gandhi wrote in *Harijan*, for September 11, 1937, "I am afraid, you have not sufficiently grasped the principle that spinning, carding, etc., should be the means of intellectual training. What is being done there is that it is a supplementary course to the intellectual course. I want you to appreciate the difference between the two. A carpenter teaches me carpentry. I shall learn it mechanically from him, and as a result I shall know the use of various tools, but that will hardly develop my intellect. But if the same thing is taught to me by one who has taken a scientific training in carpentry, he will stimulate my intellect too. Not only shall I then have become an expert carpenter but also an engineer. For the expert will have taught me mathematics, also told me the difference between various kinds of timber, the place where they come from, giving me thus a knowledge of geography and also a little knowledge of agriculture. He will also have taught me to draw models of my tools, and given me a knowledge of elementary geometry and arithmetic.

"It is likely you do not correlate manual work with intellectual training which is given exclusively through reading and writing. I must confess that all I have up to now said is that manual training must be given side by side with intellectual training, and that it should

have a principal place in national education. But now I say that the principal means of stimulating the intellect should be manual training. I have come to this conclusion because the intellect of our boys is being wasted. Our boys do not know what to do on leaving schools. True education is that which draws out and stimulates the spiritual, intellectual and physical faculties of the children. This education ought to be for them a kind of insurance against unemployment." Critics of Gandhi have seen his emphasis on the individual as his greatest weakness, but they miss the point stressed here that it is in the encouragement of a true and creative self-reliance that Gandhi develops respect for personality, and puts down the foundations for a true spiritual society. Men will have social responsibility as they are enabled to supply social needs, and they will be able to supply these needs as they have practice in doing so.

When he is seen as a disciple of Ruskin, whom he admired greatly, it must be realized that the ideas of the Englishman, like so many others that entered into Gandhi's thinking, were assimilated into an eventual originality of Hindu insight. At first they were seminal, quickening Gandhi's own thoughts, but never making him a disciple in any true sense. Gandhi, who always exalted the individual, was himself ever original, and in most respects a prophet whose contribution was for generations to come as well as his own. Nehru says that he was a puzzle not only to the British government, but to his own people and his closest associates. Certainly his thinking was seldom clear to the more learned younger man. Nehru remarks that "Indian mythology is full of stories of great ascetics, who, by the rigour of their sacrifices and self-imposed penance, built up a 'mountain of merit' which threatened the dominion of some of the lesser gods and upset the established order. These myths have often come to my mind when I have watched the amazing energy and inner power

of Gandhiji, coming out of some inexhaustible spiritual reservoir. He was obviously not of the world's ordinary coinage; he was minted of a different and rare variety, and often the unknown stared at us through his eyes."

Ruskin's *Unto This Last* was in its day an upsetting attack on the materialist assumptions of British life. Ruskin asked if riches did not mean power over other men by keeping them poor. "The persons who become rich are generally speaking industrious, resolute, proud, covetous, prompt, methodical, sensible, unimaginative, insensitive and ignorant. . . . The persons who remain poor are the entirely foolish, the entirely wise, the idle, the reckless, the humble, the thoughtful . . . the clumsy knave, the open thief, and the entirely merciful, just and godly person." Ruskin then goes on to suggest that the professions are honored and supported in luxury because they serve the social order in which the rich are entrenched. "The soldier must die rather than leave his post in battle, the physician rather than leave his post in plague, the pastor rather than teach falsehood, the lawyer rather than countenance injustice. The merchant—what is his due occasion of death? . . . For the merchant's *function* is to provide for the nation, and the public must learn that the market may have its martyrdoms as well as the pulpit, and trade its heroisms as well as war. . . . There is no wealth but Life—Life, including all its power of love, of joy, and of admiration. That country is the richest which nourishes the greatest number of noble and happy human beings."

Gandhi summarizes the impact of Ruskin upon him in terms of the latter's three major insights. Thus he knew that the good of the individual was contained in the good of all, but only realized dimly that the lawyer's work had the same value as the barber's, amounting to the same right of earning of livelihood from work, but no more as well as no less. It had never occurred to Gandhi, however, that the life of labor, as the tiller of

the soil or the handicraftsman, was the life really worth living. This quickening at the hands of Ruskin prepared him for his acceptance of the more subtle conception of non-possession, which he got from the Bhagavad-Gita. Tolstoy's impact by contrast was not so much his rather appreciable reinforcement of Ruskin's emphasis on hand labor as his advocacy of non-resistance, which he presented as the true Christian message as formulated in the Sermon on the Mount. He forever made the fifth, sixth and seventh chapters of *Matthew* a vital source of Gandhi's ethics. Tolstoy had said that governments which employ force are "fundamentally immoral, and exist for the advantage of the rich and powerful to the detriment of the poor and needy," asserting that it was the duty of people to boycott such governments or to meet them with complete non-cooperation. Tolstoy's exposition of Christianity as the way of peace made its permanent deposit in Gandhi's mind, and again was a quickening chapter in his religious experience, but it was in Hinduism that Gandhi himself later found the deeper roots and greater strength of his spiritual realization. These seminal impacts were rather a needed and important stimulus to his social thinking,

Society can provide no moral dynamic for the totality of the individuals making it up unless all these individuals participate equally in the social whole, according first of all to their willingness to extend themselves in the common interest and according, in the second place, to their own particular effectiveness in developing their special personality, that is, the composite of the skills by which their fellowship with those around them is possible. Gandhi is uncompromising in his ethical doctrine at this point, and Gulzarilal Nanda has gathered together and summarized the rights of labor, on the basis of Gandhi's expressed views, as his contribution to the volume published on the Mahatma's seventy-fifth birthday. Thus "labour is entitled to an

equal voice in the determination of its conditions of employment. In the case of disagreement, the decision of an impartial tribunal should prevail. Labour has the right to a share in the administration and control of the industry. The claim of labour in this respect is superior to that of shareholders. Labour should be provided with the fullest information about the position and transactions of the industry. The employer should have the consent of the workers for any amount that might be withdrawn from the industry for his own use.

"The remuneration of all engaged in the industry should be as nearly equal as possible. A living wage for the worker is the first charge on the gross surplus of the industry. The depressed condition of an industry does not, at any time, create any justification for a cut in wages which fall short of a living wage standard unless their continued payment means a progressive encroachment on the capital originally invested. This should be decided with reference to the average condition of the industry and not the position of one or more units. In the ordinary course, an industry which cannot afford a living wage to the workers forfeits the right to exist as it is. The exceptional treatment indicated here applies to a transitional period when the productivity of industry generally in the country is too low to furnish a full living wage to the workers after every available measure for promoting efficiency and effecting economies has been adopted. But there is also an irreducible minimum—an amount just 'adequate for maintenance'—which, in the opinion of Gandhi, cannot be subjected to a cut in any circumstances. According to Gandhi's conception of the living wage standard, the earnings of every male adult worker should enable him to meet full requirements of health and efficiency of the entire family and to make a reasonable provision for conventional necessities and the various exigencies of life. Women and children should not have to be pressed

into the service of the industry owing to the inadequacy of the wages of the male worker.

"The duration and the processes of work should not prove fatiguing to the workers. They should have sufficient leisure for recreation and for attending to their domestic and social obligations. The working conditions and the quality and quantity of materials should not be such as to impose undue strain on the workers or affect adversely their health or other interests. Adequate provision should be made for the creature comforts of the workers during the period of employment. Gandhi has laid special stress on the duty of the employer to provide decent accommodation for rest and refreshments, sufficient water and satisfactory sanitary facilities. Gandhi's pronouncements in this connection date back to the days when legislation on the subject was either non-existent or in a very rudimentary stage. In the opinion of Gandhi, the responsibility of the industry extends to the supply of suitable housing accommodation for all the employees without curtailing the freedom of the workers in any way. The workers have an inalienable right to organize, form unions, and bargain collectively. The employers should not obstruct the formation of a union or its working or victimize any worker for his activities in this connection. No elected representative of the workers in the mills should be dismissed without previous reference to the labour union. It is the employers' duty to provide facilities for the collection of the union subscription at the place of employment. Where a union adhering to arbitration is functioning, the employers should not take labour through any other agency. In the case of a refusal of arbitration or failure or undue delay in implementing an award, the workers have an unrestricted right to strike work."

Nanda also points out that Gandhi in the course of his speeches and writings "has stressed the duties of the

workers even more than their rights. The list of their obligations is long and the standard for their conduct exacting. The worker is first asked to do his duty by himself and his family. He must lead a clean life, abstain from drink and other vices, take an intelligent interest in his surroundings, increase his store of knowledge and observe scrupulous fairness in all his dealings. The welfare of women and children is to be ensured by keeping them out of factory work, by giving them proper education and training, and providing for them a suitable environment. Leisure must be employed for self-culture and innocent recreation and not wasted in idle gossip or harmful pursuits. Increased earnings should be absorbed in better rearing of children, education of women, improved nutrition and clothing and in raising the standard of living conditions generally. The keynote of the workers' personal life should be self-restraint and not self-indulgence.

"The worker is expected to evince a high sense of duty in the discharge of his obligations to the industry. There is to be no waste of time, no unbecoming demeanour towards those in authority, and no desire to coerce the other party into acceptance of unfair demands. He has to satisfy the requirements of discipline and efficiency. When aggrieved, he should represent his case and seek redress through the proper channel. He must not make false and exaggerated demands. There should be no strike till all the prescribed steps culminating in the request for arbitration have been taken. Violence has to be eschewed in all forms and only thoroughly peaceful methods should be followed during employment as well as during periods of strikes. The worker must develop a broad outlook and equip himself for the discharge of his wider responsibilities towards his less fortunately placed brethren as well as in respect of the affairs of the country. The progress of the working class depends on how far each worker

is ready to sacrifice his individual interest for achieving the general good."

The classic Hindu doctrine which runs through and orders all Gandhi's social thinking is not expressed in terms of the phrase best used for Western readers, that is, respect for personality, but as the broader respect for life as such, indeed as a recognition of an actual or immediate divine presence in all phenomena. This is *ahimsa*, a Sanskrit word which means non-injury. Absolute non-injury has been the basis of all spiritual life in India, as one of its writers explains, but "its value has been confined to the domain of individual salvation, freedom from the bondage of physical, worldly life. To guide one's life according to the principles of *ahimsa*, we have been taught, we must progressively renounce all ties with worldly activities and withdraw into ourselves, away from the incessant struggle which is human existence," i.e., it is commonly made to serve a flight from reality rather than as, in its adoption by Gandhi, becoming the principle of a greater and more immediate participation in reality, and so what Gandhi terms a moral strength such as can be used in practical or socio-economic as well as spiritual considerations. He has held that the evil depending on or resulting from brute force can be overcome by this moral power, more specifically identified as *satyagraha*, and that the greatest duty incumbent upon the person of understanding or enlightened good will is to contribute to the eternal fellowship of mankind.

In the perspective of a broader *ahimsa* the individual's living of his own life is the most important of all specific realities in the great complex of a divine and perfect and complete real. Here is the personality which must be respected, not only in the particular form in which it may be encountered, but as it finds itself variably and thereupon complements itself in all the differences around it. Gandhi calls for every man to search

for the truth above everything else, meaning that he should seek for that in and through which he can be true to himself. There are innumerable ways in which each special person builds his strength, but perhaps the most universal or common recourse of personality in its continual effort toward self-strengthening is to prayer. Gandhi in the *Cultural World* writes that "prayer has saved my life. Without it, I should have been a lunatic long ago. I have had my share of the bitterest public and private experiences. They threw me into temporary despair. If I was able to get rid of that despair, it was because of prayer. Prayer has not been a part of my life as truth has been. Prayer came out of sheer necessity. I found myself in a plight where I could not possibly be happy without prayer. The more my faith in God increased, the more irresistible became the yearning for prayer. Life seemed to be dull and vacant without it.

"I had attended the Christian religious services in South Africa, but they failed to grip me. My Christian friends supplicated God, but I could not do so. I failed grievously. I started with a disbelief in God and prayer. And until at a late stage in life I did not feel anything like a void in life. At that stage, I felt that as food was indispensable to the body, so was prayer indispensable for the soul. In fact, food for the body is not so necessary as prayer for the soul. For starvation is often necessary in order to keep the body in health, but there is no such thing as prayer starvation. You cannot possibly have a surfeit of prayer. Three of the greatest teachers of the world, Buddha, Jesus, and Mohammed, have left unimpeachable testimony that they found illumination through prayer and could not possibly live without it. Millions of Christians, Hindus and Mussalmans find their only solace in life in prayer. Either you vote them down as liars, or as self-deluded people. I will say that this 'lying' has a charm for me, a truth-

seeker, if it is 'lying' that has given me that mainstay or staff of life, without which I could not dare to live for a moment. In spite of despair staring me in the face on the political horizon, I have never lost my peace. In fact, I have found people who envy my peace. That peace comes from prayer. I am not a man of learning, but I humbly claim to be a man of prayer. I am indifferent as to the form. Everyone is a law unto himself in that respect. But there are some well-marked roads, and it is safe to walk along the beaten tracks trod by the ancient teachers. . . ."

Gandhi's clinging to the beaten paths of truth by those who have gone before is characteristic of Hinduism as a whole, and above all else, is essentially logical. Prayer, however, must be an acting or a doing which is a continual recovery of self in objective and social as well as individual and subjective terms, and so Gandhi is especially concerned with the matter of diet on the positive side of a prayerful approach to food and the everyday necessities of life, just as on the negative side he is interested in those prayerlike self-denials which protect the body from substances and indulgences such as waste or perhaps destroy man's physical and spiritual energies. Mr. R. K. Prabhu, the journalist whose service to *Young India* and Gandhi has been inestimable, has compiled much that Gandhi had to say on these subjects for the seventy-fifth-birthday volume. "As a searcher for truth I deem it necessary to find the perfect food for a man to keep body, mind and soul in a sound condition. It almost seems to me that it is reserved for lay enthusiasts to cut their way through a mountain of difficulties even at the risk of their lives to find the truth. I should be satisfied if scientists would lend their assistance to such humble workers.

"I do not regard flesh-food as necessary for us at any stage and under any clime in which it is possible for human beings ordinarily to live. I hold flesh-food to be

unsuited to our species. We err in copying the lower animal world, if we are superior to it. For one thing the tremendous vested interests that have grown round the belief in animal food prevent the medical profession from approaching the question with complete detachment. . . . Vegetarianism is one of the priceless gifts of Hinduism. It may not be lightly given up. By instinct and upbringing I personally favour a purely vegetarian diet and have for years been experimenting in finding a suitable vegetarian combination. Rightly or wrongly it is part of my religious conviction, that man may not eat meat, eggs and the like. There should be a limit even to the means of keeping ourselves alive. Even for life itself we may not do certain things. . . . Abstemiousness from meat is undoubtedly a great aid to the evolution of the spirit, but it is by no means an end in itself. Many a man eating meat but living in fear of God is nearer his salvation than a man religiously abstaining from meat and many other things but blaspheming God in every one of his acts. . . . It is necessary to correct the error that vegetarianism has made us weak in mind or body or passive or inert in action. The greatest Hindu reformers have been the activist in their generation and they have invariably been vegetarians.

"A man who wants to control his animal passions easily does so if he controls his palate. I fear this is one of the most difficult vows to follow. Unless we are prepared to rid ourselves of stimulating, heating, and exciting condiments we shall certainly not be able to control the over-abundant, unnecessary and exciting stimulation of the animal passion. . . . It is my firm conviction that man need take no milk at all, beyond the mother's milk that he takes as a baby. His diet should consist of nothing but sunbaked fruits and nuts. He can secure enough nourishment both for the tissues and the nerves from fruits like grapes and nuts like almonds. . . . Eat only when you are hungry and when you have

laboured for your food. One should eat not in order to please the palate but just to keep the body going. Passion in man is generally co-existent with a hankering after the pleasures of the palate. When each organ of sense subserves the body and through the body the soul, its specific relish disappears and then alone does it begin to function in the way nature intended it to do. Any number of experiments is too small and no sacrifice too great for attaining this symphony with nature. . . . I am sure that most people eat much too much. It is a well established fact that one can derive a much greater amount of nourishment from the same quantity of food if it is masticated well. The habit of proper mastication of food inculcated by the use of uncooked greens therefore, if it does nothing else, will at least enable one to do with less quantity of food and thus not only make for economy of consumption but also automatically reduce the dietetic *himsa* that one commits to sustain life.

“The unlimited capacity of the plant world to sustain man at his highest is a region yet unexplored by modern medical science which through force of habit pins its faith on the shambles or at least milk and its by-products. I submit that scientists have not yet explored the hidden possibilities of the innumerable seeds, leaves and fruits for giving the fullest possible nutrition to mankind. It is a duty which awaits eminent medical men whose tradition is vegetarian. . . . The fast developing researches about vitamins and the possibilities of getting the most important of them directly from the sun bid fair to revolutionise many of the accepted theories and beliefs propounded by medical science about food. . . . Diet reform is a limitless field of research fraught with the greatest consequences for the world and more especially for the famishing millions of India. To provide nourishing food for the nation is to give it both money and health. It means both health and

wealth which according to Ruskin are one and the same thing."

Meanwhile, no one must "be deceived by the specious argument that India must not be made sober by compulsion, and that those who wish to drink must have facilities provided for them. The state does not cater for the vices of its people. We do not regulate and license houses of ill-fame. We do not provide facilities for thieves to indulge their propensity for thieving. I hold drink to be more damnable than thieving and perhaps even prostitution. Is it not often the parent of both?" Hence "it was a wicked thing for the Imperial Government to have transferred this the most immoral source of revenue to the provinces and to have thus made this tainted revenue the one source for defraying the cost of the education of Indian youth. . . . Thieving will abide till doomsday. Must it, therefore, be licensed? Is thieving of the mind less criminal than thieving of matter? Illicit distillation to an extent will no doubt go on. Its quantity will be the measure of the Government's effort assisted by a vigilant public in the shape of continuous and sympathetic treatment of the drinker and the opium-eater. Moral elevation demands a price no less than material or physical elevation. But my submission is that this constructive effort is doomed to failure if it is not preceded by total prohibition. So long as the state not only permits but provides facilities for the addict to satisfy his craving, the reformer has little chance of success. Gipsy Smith was a powerful temperance preacher. It was a feature of his huge gatherings that several people took the vow of total abstinence under the spell of his song and precept. But I say from my experience of South Africa that the majority of the poor addicts could not resist the temptation to enter the palatial bars that faced them, no matter where they wandered, in the principal thoroughfares of cities, or the wayside inns when they strayed away from cities. State prohibi-

tion is not the end of this great temperance reform, but it is the indispensable beginning of it.

"Let it be remembered that this drink and drugs revenue is a form of extremely degrading taxation. All taxation to be healthy must return tenfold to the taxpayer in the form of necessary services. Excise makes people pay for their own corruption, moral, mental and physical. It falls like a deadweight on those who are least able to bear it. The revenue is largely derived, I believe, from industrial labour which together with field labour the Congress almost exclusively represents. . . . The cry of great expenditure in preventing illicit distillation is thoughtless where it is not hypocritical. India is not America. The American example is a hindrance rather than a help to us. In America drinking carries no shame with it. It is the fashion there to drink. It reflects the greatest credit on the determined minority in America that by sheer force of its moral weight it was able to carry through the prohibition measure however short-lived it was. I do not regard that experiment to have been a failure. I do not despair of America once more returning to it with still greater fervour and better experience in dealing with it. It may be that if India carried out prohibition it will hasten the advent of prohibition in America. In no part of the world is prohibition as easy to carry out as in India for with us it is only a minority that drinks. Drinking is generally considered disrespectable. And there are millions, I believe, who have never known what drink is.

"Prohibition should begin by preventing any new shop from being licensed and closing some that are in danger of becoming a nuisance to the public. How far the latter is possible without having to pay heavy compensation I do not know. In any case, generally, licenses that lapse should not be renewed. No new shops should be opened on any account. Whatever immediately is possible in law should be done without a moment's

thought so far as the revenue is concerned. . . . I know that many are sceptical about prohibition being achieved. They think that the financial lure will be too strong for them to resist. They argue that the addicts will procure their drinks and drugs anyhow, and that when the ministers discover that prohibition means mere loss of revenue without any appreciable diminution in the consumption, though illicit, of drinks and drugs, they will revert to the tainted revenue and the then state will be worse than the present. I do not share any such fear. I believe there is the requisite moral momentum in the nation to achieve the noble end. If prohibition is to be a reality, we shall begin to see the end not with the end of the three years but inside of six months. And when the reality dawns upon India, those Provinces or States that have lagged behind are bound to bow to the inevitable. We have the right, therefore, to expect the sympathy and support not only of all the parties in India including the Europeans but the best mind of the whole world in this, perhaps, the greatest moral movement of the century."

Thus the matter of man's relationship to his world in terms of his needs is a religious matter as it affords a discipline for his soul, and it is also a basis of socio-economic reform as it provides a better balance between the effort required of a man for survival and the rewards which add together to give form and substance to his incentives. The bodily functions can serve man's spirit, no less than his physical well-being, not merely on the negative side through the self-discipline which makes man more than an animal, but as building positively to the social or moral force represented by the doctrine of non-injury and the political weapon of non-violence. The line is very fine between an invited martyrdom or injuries inflicted on the self as a perverted means to give the ego an uplift, and the use of personal suffering as a contribution on the part of one man to

the welfare of his fellows. This is what in the Christian religion had its great example in a vicarious atonement through the crucifixion of Christ, with what is some measure of parallel in the assassination of Gandhi. The Western theologian, however, can make little of the degree to which the Eastern mind assimilates itself over a broad social sweep. Even the least of Eastern minds can see itself called to account when some spiritual leader does public penance for those of his fellows who fail to live up to the ideal responsibility he administers for them in a peculiar psychological fashion. Fasting as personal discipline has been a commonplace in the West, no less than in the East, and is practiced regularly by many Christians as well as members of other faiths. But Western asceticism has never been refined as an instrument of social action.

In the East the life of the individual represents not only himself as a discrete entity but also and even more importantly the particular organism of which with his fellows he is part. Fasting becomes the dramatization of a social challenge, and the call to more constructive attitudes and actions on the part of others, since no man lives to himself alone but represents his fellows in every deviation from norm, for better or worse. Gandhi's many imprisonments, amounting to eight arrests and perhaps a total of a year and a half of incarceration in South Africa, and an almost equal number of arrests in India with nearly five years of incarceration or detention, were a sacrificial typification of the wrongs his people suffered, and they exerted a tremendous spiritual pressure on the government and on world opinion. The fasting, voluntarily undertaken and less a martyrdom demanded by an alien and external power, had hardly less wide a compulsion on events, and in Gandhi's mind was more definitely a means for creating a unity in non-violence and a strengthened solidarity in spiritual reality among his own people. "Fasting is an institution as old as

Adam," he writes, in Mr. Prabhu's compilation. "It has been resorted to for self-purification or for some ends noble as well as ignoble. Buddha, Jesus and Mohammed fasted so as to see God face to face. Ramachandra fasted for the sea to give way for his army of monkeys. Parvati fasted to secure Mahadev himself as her Lord and Master. In my fasts I have but followed these great examples, no doubt for ends much less noble than theirs.

"Fasting is a part of my being as, I hold, it has been, to a large or small extent, of every seeker of Truth. I am making an experiment in *ahimsa* on a scale perhaps unknown in history. That I may be wholly wrong is quite possible, but quite irrelevant to the present purpose. So long as I am not conscious of the error, but, on the contrary, am sure, as far as it is humanly possible to be, of being in the right, I must go on with my pursuit to the farthest end. . . . Fasting is not for everyone and for every occasion. Fasting without faith may even lead to disastrous consequences. All such spiritual weapons are dangerous when handled by unqualified persons. . . . Fasting in Satyagraha has well-defined limits. You cannot fast against a tyrant, for it will be a species of violence done to him. You invite penalty from him for disobedience of his orders, but you cannot inflict on yourself penalties when he refuses to punish and renders it impossible for you to disobey his orders so as to compel infliction of penalty. . . . Fasting can only be resorted to against a lover, not to extort rights, but to reform him, as when a son fasts for a father who drinks. I fasted to reform those who loved me. But I will not fast to reform, say, General Dyer, who not only does not love me, but who regards himself as my enemy. . . . Fasting has a recognised place in religious practice. But it is considered a vulgar interpolation in politics by the ordinary politician though it has always been resorted to by prisoners in a haphazard way with more or less success. By fasting however they have always suc-

ceeded in drawing public attention and disturbing the peace of jail authorities.

"Which is better, I ask, to take the opponent's life secretly or openly, or to credit him with finer feelings and evoke them by fasting and the like? . . . A complete fast is a complete and literal denial of self. It is the truest prayer. 'Take my life, and let it be always, only, all for Thee' is not, and should not be, a mere lip or figurative expression. It has to be a reckless and joyous giving without the least reservation. Abstention from food and even water is but the mere beginning, the least part of the surrender. . . . The physical and moral value of fasting is being more and more recognised day by day. A vast number of diseases can be more surely treated by judicious fasting than by all sorts of nostrums including the dreadful injections—dreadful not because of the pain they cause but because of the injurious by-products which often result from their use. Increased vitality is almost the universal experience of those that have fasted. For real rest for body and mind is possible only during fasting. Suspension of daily work is hardly rest without the rest that the overtaxed and overworked digestive apparatus needs in a multitude of cases. It is my conviction that the body gains by a well-regulated fast. For during fasting the body gets rid of many of its impurities."

Perhaps the final word that Gandhi might speak for himself—as far as these pages are concerned—is in connection with the all-important willingness of the mature man to commit himself by reason and will. This is the ultimate certification or proof to himself, and to all others, that it is he who is acting, and that he is able to act responsibly because he is able to carry out his full desire and will for himself. To Gandhi the vows or pledges by which man's word becomes a law to himself are the most important factors in a genuine moral dynamic. The compilation of Mr. Prabhu gives the

core of Gandhi's ideas on this matter of conscious self-committal. "Being accustomed from very childhood to taking vows I confess I have a strong bias in favour of the practice. It has come to my rescue in many a crisis, I have seen it save others from many a pitfall. A life without vows is like a ship without an anchor or like an edifice that is built on sand instead of a solid rock. A vow imparts stability, ballast and firmness to one's character. What reliance can be placed on a person who lacks these essential qualities? An agreement is nothing but a mutual interchange of vows . . .

"In old days, the word of mouth of illustrious persons was regarded as good as a bond. They concluded transactions involving millions by oral agreements. In fact our entire social fabric rests on the sanctity of the pledged word. The world would go to pieces if there was not this element of stability, or finality in agreements arrived at. The Himalayas are immovably fixed for ever in their place. India would perish if the firmness of the Himalayas gave way. The sun, the moon and other heavenly bodies move with unerring regularity. Were it not so, human affairs would come to a standstill. But we know that the sun has been rising regularly at its fixed time for countless ages in the past and will continue to do so in future. The cooling orb of the moon will continue always to wax and wane as it has done for ages past with a clock-work regularity. That is why we call the sun and the moon to be witness to our affairs. We base our calendar on their movements, we regulate our time by their rising and setting. . . . The same law, which regulates these heavenly bodies, applies equally to men. A person unbound by vows can never be absolutely relied upon. It is overweening pride to say, 'This thing comes natural to me. Why should I bind myself permanently by vows? I can well take care of myself at the critical moment. Why should I take an absolute vow against wine? I never get drunk. Why should I

forego the pleasure of an occasional cup for nothing.' A person who argues like this will never be weaned from his addiction. To shirk taking of vows betrays indecision and want of resolution."

Gandhi views life as a sacrament, depending upon a ritual created by the genius and skills of each individual self and made orderly as a contribution of each to everyone else around. Any spiritual culture or civilization must build upon a much higher individual dependability than mankind now knows. Hence he says, "I have before me innumerable examples of spinners at will. Every one of them has come to grief sooner or later. On the other hand, sacramental spinning has transformed the entire life of those who have taken to it; mountains of yarn stored up by them tell the tale. A vow is like a right angle. An insignificant right angle will make all the difference between ugliness and elegance, solidity and shakiness of a gigantic structure. Even so stability or unstability, purity or otherwise of an entire career may depend upon the taking of a vow." Man must respect his own personality by refusing the intemperance of an overzeal or an overreaching no less than an intemperance of the senses. "It goes without saying that moderation and sobriety are of the very essence of vow-taking. The taking of vows that are not feasible or that are beyond one's capacity would betray thoughtlessness and want of balance. Similarly a vow can be made conditional without losing any of its efficacy or virtue. For instance, there would be nothing wrong about taking a vow to spin for at least one hour every day and to turn out not less than 200 yards daily except when one is travelling or sick. Such a vow would not only be quite in form but also easy of observance. The essence of a vow does not consist in the difficulty of its performance but in the determination behind it unflinchingly to stick to in the teeth of difficulties." Here indeed personality has learned to respect itself.

EIGHT

THE BHAGAVAD-GITA

In her tribute to Mahatma Gandhi, printed in the volume issued for the commemoration of his seventy-fifth birthday, Pearl S. Buck explains that "to me, Gandhi has been, through his own personality, an expression of what India is. . . . By finding out all I can about Gandhi, by trying to understand him, I have understood India at least to some degree, even in all its contrasts." Gandhi's unique assimilation of the Hindu genius into himself, together with the complete flow of his being into the deeper or eternal core of Indian reality, is what makes him the avatar. Thus he helps many to understand the land from which he has sprung, and for which he died. Unfortunately the average individual will have neither the time to give, nor the access to the almost illimitable materials by which Gandhi will now have to be known. As far as the general reader is concerned, almost a completely reversed process is necessary. India must be called on to yield an understanding of Gandhi. A knowledge of Hindu thought becomes the sole frame of reference in which Gandhi's contribution to the world can be at all understood, and this fact creates an even greater difficulty. Indian literature is voluminous. The cultural heritage and surviving customs throughout India's infinite variety of human temperament and living are equally beyond the grasp of the Westerner unable to devote his life to the task. Fortunately one epitome of Hindu thinking stands apart, as brilliant as a diamond in its setting: the Bhagavad-Gita.

The importance of the Gita to Gandhi is well known through the narratives of his life and his own frequent

references. His favorite verses were chanted from the Gita as his life drained away on the afternoon of his assassination. It is a significant composition set within the great Hindu epic, the *Mahabharata*, or a collection of the hundred thousand verses of which it comprises some seven hundred and seventy. The most popular English version has been the poetic paraphrase by Edwin Arnold, published under the title *The Song Celestial*. Gandhi's own version is too sharp a departure from orthodox Hindu thinking to help here in gaining an objective light on his intellectual roots as such. Probably the most serviceable exposition for the West is still *The Bhagavad Gîtâ or The Lord's Lay*, translated into English by Mohini M. Chatterji (Boston, Houghton-Mifflin, 1887). Chatterji explains that "All Indian authorities agree in pronouncing the Bhagavad-Gita to be the essence of all sacred writings," and he quotes Shankara to the effect that it is "the collected essence of all the Vedas." In its present form, or as refined towards the end of the Hindu Epic period—and under recent scholarship denied its traditionally remote date—it has become the unquestioned core of philosophical Hinduism. Its popular relationship to Indian theology is not unlike that of the *Old Testament* to the Jew, the *New Testament* to the Christian, and the Koran to the Mohammedan. Shankara, greatest of early Hindu scholars in any modern sense of that word—and largely responsible for the present intellectual organization of the Vedantic sources—has been followed by Chatterji in spirit, if not almost to the letter, and in consequence his presentation probably gives the Western reader as close an approximation of the Gita's fundamental impact on Gandhi as may ever be possible.

Chatterji gives sufficient preliminary attention to the points of view other than Shankara's, in his exposition, to meet the critical requirements of the average scholarly mind unequipped by a mastery of Sanskrit to go more

deeply into the subtleties of interpretation. He sets the stage for his exposition in a preliminary survey. "According to the nature of these needs, religion has a two-fold aspect, presenting the path of action and the path of cessation of action, or work and rest. Those who follow the first path live in the veiled light of God, ever working and ever having to work. The other path leads to the attainment of God, having obtained whom there is nothing else to attain; having become whom there is nothing else to be. The result yielded by the religion of rest is the acme of bliss, which to human imagination appears as the cessation of all suffering.

"The nature of the path of action is easily understood. I want something for my personality, for the permanence of which I am also craving. A desire for anything in the future involves the desire for the continuance of personal identity. I cannot secure this end by any effort of my mind or my muscle; I therefore turn to super-human means—in short, I am not only worldly, but other-worldly. So far, it is clear, I am seeking happiness by changing the Infinite towards the finite, myself. . . ." Action cannot "deliver us from bondage. Action can only lead to action, as animals can only reproduce their kind. The actor consisting only of the stuff called illusion, his action cannot transcend illusion. If the illusion can be supposed to be suspended for a moment, no action can take place, inasmuch as the actor, in so far as he is the actor, will disappear. It is clear that as bondage is a state of which we are conscious, some other state of consciousness alone can remove it. The state of consciousness called illusion, or false knowledge, will not exist in the state of consciousness called right knowledge. . . ." Hence "whatever there is to do has to be done, but not for the sake of enjoying the fruit of action. Let me work for God like a slave; not that He wants it of me, but because He has blessed me with the wish to serve Him. If I am not able thus to dedicate to

God every thought and deed, let me at least do some specific things for Him; if I cannot give Him the twenty-four hours, at least let me give Him one. But let me not forget the lesson of the widow's mite."

The Bhagavad-Gita is cast in the epic mold. The occasion is the assembly of two great rival armies on the field of battle. The hero of the song, Arjuna, represents the proper rulers of the country who have been deprived of their rights by trickery, and his opponents comprise a collateral line of the family which has seized the throne and intends to hold it. The structure involves a series of dialogues set within the epic frame. This outer frame is provided by the report of Sanjaya, charioteer of the blind patriarch who is the father of the princes that seized the power and are now ruling the country. Sanjaya has been endowed with superhuman perception on this occasion, and he gives a description of the events. What occur are the discussions between Arjuna and his own charioteer, who is the Lord Krishna in person as an incarnation of Vishnu. As Chatterji describes the scene, Arjuna beholds "uncles and grand-uncles, sons and grandsons, brothers and friends, teachers and well-wishers prepared to fight, one with another, unto the very death. The claims of blood and friendship assert their sway over him. His heart is assailed by strange and conflicting emotions. His proud warrior heart quails under them, his courage kisses the ground before grief, and for the first time he knows fear. His limbs quake, his hair stands on end, his great bow drops from his hand, and his skin begins to burn.

"The strong faith of the royal warrior in his duty to fight is shaken by his love of kindred and friend, and doubts divide his mind. Of what avail is the unshaken throne on earth, without the near and dear ones for whose sake alone Prosperity has her charms? Far better feed upon the beggar's alms than enjoy blood-stained success. The sense of duty implanted in the warrior's

breast by the traditions of a divine ancestry and the teaching of venerable sages still struggle for mastery, and scriptural texts are quoted to allay the qualms of a sensitive and educated conscience. Alas! thus it always is with man. The source of evil is within us. Egotism deludes us with the feeling of possession where there is nothing to possess. This is the great enemy—the *my-ness* in me. This is the giant weed whose roots lie deep in the human heart. The Bhagavad-Gîtâ is the epic which sings the death of this hydra-headed monster. It is a great poem—a poem whose author must be both poet and prophet. It closes with the glorious vision of the victor standing firm in his glory: ‘O Thou unshaken one! by thy favor my delusion is destroyed. I have recognized myself; my doubts are gone. I am firm, and shall do Thy bidding.’ As I close the book the Vedic hymn reverberates through my innermost being. ‘Destroyed is the knot of the heart, removed are all doubts, extinct are all hidden longings of the man, on seeing Him, Supreme and not-Supreme!’ ”

The Bhagavad-Gita emerges in Hindu thought as an epochal contribution to Eastern insights, and with it first appears the theistic concept which was to struggle thereafter, in India as no less in the Western world under utterly different circumstances, against the twin assaults of an escapist thinking or a pure inward-mindedness on the one hand and a distinct materialism or external-mindedness, on the other. Between the poet or mystic and the disciple of mammon, ever squaring off against each other throughout the intellectual experience of man, stands centrally the new reconciling or mediative notion of personality as made up of the indissoluble coming together of spiritual and physical elements in an individual and organic co-operation. There is no clue to the source of this realization which has perhaps its most original expression in the Gita, nor can the circumstances of its development be summarized.

Here shines a fresh and all-illuminating light by which India's philosophical past achieves an infinitely greater dimension. God becomes personal in a true or psychological actuality—that is, something other than a mechanical or externally ordering factor in the individual's experience—and by the same token man as an individual becomes divine through an inherency in his own nature on which he now sees he can depend and to which he can turn without any by-your-leave other than his own. The key verse of the Gita is the fifty-fifth of the eleventh chapter, which says, "He that works but for me, for whom I am the supreme goal, who is devoted to me, devoid of zest in things, and devoid of hostility, comes to me. . . ." It is in the spirit of this verse that Gandhi's life and character is epitomized.

The Gita is divided into three sections of six chapters each. The first of the eighteen chapters, entitled "Survey of Army," sets the stage and gives expression to Arjuna's doubts. There is evil here, in this array of military truculence, and from the practical or everyday point of view it must not be allowed to prevail. Thus Gandhi in his later days could not sit by and contemplate the lot of the Indians, nor sanction in any passivity the continual exploitation of the Asiatics or any other depressed group by the Europeans in South Africa, India or anywhere else. Yet evil is that which relies on force, and it cannot be met in its own terms without surrender to its sway. Thus Jesus could say that whoever lived by the sword would perish by the sword. Chatterji remarks that "Evil must always support itself by experience, while good rests upon universal principles. Evil must rely on the power of the evil-doer, while good derives strength from faith in the absolute character of the law of righteousness. Evil is personal and good is universal; the good man feels himself to be upheld by something beyond him; he knows that the principles upon which he stands will abide, come what

may. The evil-doer has no such confidence, because he seeks some definite object, and does not concern himself as to whether the laws of evil are absolute or not. For that knowledge can bring him no consolation if he loses that which he desires."

The intellectual dilemma here is at the root of all difficulty in theology, whether Eastern or Western, and the principal significance of the Gita is its clear resolution of the difficulty. Its solution is far better exemplified in the life and ideas of Gandhi, however, than in the orthodox or superficial interpretations which—even in Chatterji—tend to depreciate man's everyday personality. The dilemma is a very practical one. It is allowable to destroy those whose menace to life and well-being is immediate and actual, but yet all violation of the supreme injunction against the taking of life is sinful. In the Gita the point is made that for Arjuna his duty to fight rests upon the divine command which established the system of castes, and this is the point of special difficulty for the Western mind. Arjuna belonged to the Kshatriya or warrior and governing caste, and he had to be true to his own nature. Gandhi particularly emphasizes this necessity upon the part of all people. If a man was not true to what he was by nature, there was no chance for him to be true to anything else. It is precisely the same proposition involved in any individual's everyday conditioning. What he is made by way of heritage and culture puts a compulsion upon him which he cannot escape, so that a Hindu must be a Hindu, even as a Moslem must be a Moslem and an Englishman an Englishman. No Procrustean-bed technique can ever solve the spiritual problems of mankind. Society cannot be leveled off, or human individuals tailor-made to conform to ideals held by some group or race self-elected to settle these problems. At the same time, evil is evil, and something must be done to obviate it. Gandhi preferred that rivers of blood run

than that his ideals be compromised, but he nonetheless repudiated all violence and abjured every form of blood shedding.

The clashes in point of view here are sharp, so that the Gita is probably much more reminiscent of *Job* than any other one book. The consequences of reality are what they are for worse as well as better, and whatever move may be made in order to work out the better can never be determined in the face of the worse, or carried out under its compulsions. Characteristic of the Western world is the emphasis it places upon the ideal and the possible, perhaps because the Western mind has developed a more adventuresome character, but in the East all attention is focused upon man's conditioned limitations and his pursuance of his duty as the complementary factor of self-reliance and spiritual responsibility. Chatterji explains that "the institution of castes secures to a man the knowledge of what he must do to inherit eternal life. The family and caste duties being well known and rigorously fixed, an ego is born in a particular family and caste in accordance with its needs. Thus a man has not to search blindly and waveringly for a full knowledge of his duty, but starts with it in life's great journey. Hence to create a confusion of castes is a greater moral wrong than to remove the sea-marks which guide the mariners in their course." This has no particular parallel in the Western Scriptures except perhaps in Ezekiel's mysterious insistence upon the concept of a ritualistic lapse as of greater consequences for ill than an out-and-out moral or social one.

The general heading for the first great section of the Gita is "Individual Spirit," and the title of the second chapter is "Right Knowledge of the Spirit." Consideration now comes to the principle which looms up so importantly in Gandhi's thinking, namely, the necessary and basic respect for personality. True consciousness is seen as the opposite of conditioned existence, and what

spirit means in any individual's case is the centering of all reality in an act of genuine self-being rather than in a mere continuance in some pattern of reflexes and some history of outer separation or superficial identity. Krishna abjures Arjuna to "fall not into eunuch-hood" since "this is not worthy of thee. Arise, O harasser of thy foes, casting aside this degrading faintness of heart." The individual is spiritual or shares in the immortality of the eternal as he asserts himself in his own true or inner nature. An overconcern with things of the world is an overemphasis on the conditioned side of existence, and so Krishna goes on to say, "Thou mournest those who ought not to be mourned, though thou speakest words of learning. Those wise in things spiritual mourn not the living or dead." This is not heartlessness nor a careless detachment, but merely a proper placing of the center in reality. Participation in evil means only that the participant has somehow found the evil expressing whatever facet of his nature he has made real for the moment.

Plurality in the universe is the illimitability of opportunity for experience, not an infinite multiplication of existence and so a destruction of ego as such. What any one ego is, all egos are, qua ego, and in the next verse Krishna affirms, "Verily it is not so that ever I *was not*, nor thou, nor these lords of men: nor is it that we, every one, shall hereafter *be not*." There is in the thinking here the concept of a false ego, or that which gives a sense of the "I" as existing in a curious sort of separation from the rest of the universe. The fallacy is the assumption that isolation from experience can delimit any actual center of reality in experience. Here, rather, is a Hindu statement of the microcosm-macrocosm doctrine developed by the Greeks in a different context, and discussed in its implication for Christian theology in the present writer's analysis of George Sylvester Morris. The commentators on the Gita merely have faced

the same difficulty encountered by all thinkers in the Western world until very recently, namely, the complete shaping of language through two millennia to the concepts and presuppositions of materialism. Reality is assumed naively and critically to be a condition of things as things, and so under the maturing of India's thought in the forms which came to their climax in Jainism and Buddhism the ego, whether seen as true or false, is visualized as an existent externally discrete in terms of a static irreducibility. The existence, in other words, is something inherent in the existent as prior to anything it may do or suffer.

The Gita itself seems to be stressing what is beginning to be a commonplace of modern functional thinking, presenting the realization that anything is what it does, and that the *is-ness* as such is the characteristic doing in question. Man and God are the obverse of each other, participating in a like nature which comprises both because God as immanent in the world is the point and actuality of each and every individual man or other moving and persisting element which may express its own nature in a contribution to the make-up of the world and existence as a whole. Man is God, however potentially so in any descriptive sense, because he has choice in his participation, or possesses in actual fact the same species of illimitability which alone can define God. Elsewhere in the Gita a denial of time as any reality on its own account is a clear enough indication that this interpretation of the verse must conform substantially to the thinking out of which it emerged originally. Krishna soon strengthens this conception when he says that "for the Naught no aughtness can there be, nor naughtness can there be for Aught. By the truth-seeing the ultimate characteristic of these both has indeed been seen." Truth in this verse is a translation of the Sanskrit notion of *that-ness*, and hence the truth-seeing is the recognition of all that has being in

the terms of its essential nature as an expression of itself. Things are real as they are given reality in the convenience of the immediate experience, and this is eternal in the sense that no change or correction is possible without a new turn in the experience. Therefore "the indwelling spirit that is in every body is indestructible, being eternal. Therefore thou oughtest not to be able to mourn any creature."

As for Arjuna himself, "Because for a Kshatriya nothing exists which is superior to lawful fighting, therefore viewing this as natural duty thou oughtest not to waver," and this state of obligation to the outer inharmonies of a life lived too close to the superficial evil is not to be escaped by a repudiation of the self's nature because that would be the worse choice, a repudiation of God. The world of evil is still part of the same universe of which God is the source in any possible sense of being transcendent to it as well as immanent in it. Hence Gandhi, in his day, knew he could never compromise with his own nature, nor with the development of his own spiritual insight, no matter how much he had to take an inconsistent course and adapt himself to circumstances in order to achieve the piecemeal progress to which he committed himself. When the outer things were wrong, Gandhi fasted and tightened his self-discipline, because he knew that the sin was an inadequacy or insufficiency in himself and that the inner core of himself had to be strengthened. Here was no flight from the outer reality, but rather a more intense participation in it. The greater personal suffering was a way of meeting the divine potentials and linking the servant in the world with the suffering heart of the eternal Servant who contemplated His creation and wished it better.

The proposition of bringing about a closer tie between the life of the individual and the well-being of society at large, or linking the lesser material with the greater spiritual states of existence more definitely, is a

simple matter of balances. To fight evil on its own terms is to contribute to the evil, just as to meet good in accordance with its nature is to accomplish the opposite. Therefore the emphasis is towards the good, but avoiding any weakening of the good by compromise with the evil. In particular this means that the unpleasantness and inharmony of the evil, or the lower and conditioned necessities of life, must not be permitted to drive an individual away from the specific experiences into which his own nature has led him, thereby weakening or truncating his true self-assertion. The paradox of pursuing the eternal good, and yet not failing to follow the necessity or dharma consequent upon the individual's nature or situation being what it is, comes down to a matter of the tilt in the cosmic scales. In the Hindu thinking there is the philosophy of action, which is one perspective and the purely spiritual philosophy, which is another. In Chatterji's summary "the 'knowledge regarding the purely spiritual philosophy' is the right knowledge of the supreme reality—the absoluteness of the Ego—which extinguishes conditioned existence in all phases and forms. It is called 'purely spiritual,' because those alone can comprehend it without any preliminary training who are entirely purified from all passions and thirst for life. . . .

"The 'philosophy of action' is that of the means for attaining spiritual knowledge. It consists in performing the religious and moral duties pertaining to a man's station in life, free from liking or aversion by dedicating them to the Deity, and in removing the germs of desire embedded in the super-conscious self by the practice of the all-absorbing meditation on the mystery of the Spirit . . . 'Being united to this knowledge, thou shalt escape the bondage of action;' for although the knowledge of the philosophy of action does not by itself remove the 'bondage of action,' yet it renders the man pure enough to receive the knowledge of the Spirit

which does cut asunder the knot of action. The knowledge of spiritual philosophy is one with the knowledge of the philosophy of action; for the means and the end can but form together one harmonious whole." Here is a concept which has been simplified in Western terms by demanding that whatever be done in life be done for the glory of God. Thus the Hebrews, in *Old Testament* history, went through pretty much the same motions as the nations around them, but with the chosen people these conveyed a higher meaning whereas for their neighbors, as activated by a lesser idea, they remained for the major part a means for indulging the passions or facilitating indulgence. Some major examples of this spiritualizing of everyday life are seen in the rite of circumcision, the sacrifices and ceremonies on the high places, the dietary laws, the regulations concerning sex, the use of divinatory agencies, and the development of prophetic faculties.

The discipline of action, in the light of a broader rather than a lesser goal and while leaving the being set firmly in its normal place in life, is fundamentally the science of yoga or equal-mindedness. There is a one-pointed devotion to God, while every attention is given concomitantly to every superficial duty. Success or ill-success is taken with like equanimity because all experience is spiritualizing if man will have it so. Whether the doors are closed or open in life is merely a circumstance of opportunity, leading in turn to one or another course of further action and continued one-pointedness as far as the inner consciousness or spiritual realization is concerned. Hence yoga can be defined as skill in action, or what in the Western world is somewhat ineptly described as impersonality. The ideal is summarized by Krishna when he explains that the spiritually motivated man casts out whatever desires or selfish self-seeking may be established in the human heart, and remains content with the sense of his own being as more

effectively a participant in all experience through his spiritual fellowship with all existence. He is then the person "having mind unperturbed in pain and devoid of craving in pleasure, the man of renunciation, without attachment, fear, or anger," and so one whose knowledge is said to be at rest because he feels no need to gather the objects of sense, or to build up a sense of possessoriness as a buttress for a less adequate reality. In consequence all objects as such fall back and leave him free. Because he controls his sensations and bodily processes, his true self can function, and he does not respond except as he wishes to the compulsions of his conditioning and his situation. He escapes the delusion that comes from anger and the resulting loss of memory and discrimination. He attains to peace because he is not owned by anything outside of himself, and with this comes the "end of all his sufferings" because he is united and fulfilled within the periphery of his own being.

The third chapter is entitled "The Knowledge of Right Action," and Krishna moves on to warn Arjuna against any attachment to inaction, or against any lack of a sense of responsibility or any inability to stir quickly and with the depths of self to a need, either of the higher nature or of fellow creatures. Gandhi was particularly characterized by the acuteness of his sympathy. Understanding well, throughout his life devoted to pure spiritual knowledge, his essential freedom from all these horrors of the world around him, he yet could not detach himself from them in the sense of his own responsibility as a member of his race and kind for these conditions by which those with lesser understanding—although no less divine in the ultimate core of themselves—were thwarted in their self-realization. Through the whole of his life Gandhi in consequence was much more interested in the here and now, and in the progress of his very tangible struggles for the amelioration of the lot of India's dumb millions, than in any achieve-

ment of nirvana for himself. Arjuna is distressed because he is called upon to perform acts of cruelty, but the point is not that he is initiating these acts but that he is involved in the events which compel them. Here is the only real understanding of the East's karma, or the compulsion which constitutes the very actualities in which existence will be found seated when taken at any given moment. Every cycle must go to its full, but it can be suffered in bitterness, and so with the unbroken continuance of itself in a vicious-circle reiteration, or it can be made the means for an illumination and an emancipation of a very real sort.

Krishna explains that "a man does not attain to freedom from action by not engaging in action merely, nor is the goal gained by simple abandonment of action. Verily no one ever rests an instant without being a performer of action; all creatures are made to act without independence by nature-born qualities." The secret is in the centering from which the act is directed, that is, the attitude and orientation of the individual when he is acting. Hence "all actions performed, other than those for God's sake, make the actor bound by action. Perform action for His sake, O son of Kuntî, devoid of attachment." The fourth chapter, on the "Right Knowledge of Dedication of Action Leading to Spiritual Wisdom," goes on to expand this point of view by giving a clear picture of the assimilation through which man, formerly acting to his own disinterest by his centering of himself in selfish isolation or discrete identity, learns how to flow into the being of God and thereupon to act more to his immediate and eternal interest. The vicarious salvation of Western Christianity has its parallel in this. The individual who accepts the sacrifice of the Cross is moving his focus of being into a God center. The Gita sets forth the identical psychological process through the same concept of a divine incarnation. God becomes embodied in the nature of man because man

fundamentally is no different from God. The dramatization of this divine incarnation to man enmeshed in experience arising from his inadequacies is his only example and hope.

Krishna explains this divine incarnation to Arjuna. "Being even birthless, exhaustless in essence, and being even the lord of all creatures, I am born through my inscrutable power and controlling nature." The power of spirituality is not that of an exterior compulsion but an inner flooding, and so is the achievement of an identity of the less with the greater, bringing about a resolution of all difficulties due to the inadequacies and separations of the lesser. The liberation is that "whoever knows in truth my divine birth and works, he, abandoning the body, does not incur rebirth, O Arjuna; he comes to me." By rebirth is meant, of course, not only the cycle of incarnations—which has so much more meaning to the Eastern than the Western mind—but, much more importantly, the simple proposition of escaping the senseless repetitions or the vicious circles set up whenever a man persists in expressing his inadequacy. The conditioning of his nature, and of the society or caste through which he finds his place, compels the continual repetitions until he, of himself and within himself, can begin to act or know in a different fashion. The external world buttresses the individual in his limitations, as everyone sees clearly enough, but what is seldom realized is that this same external world will also support him and make him and his works manifest in terms of his greater potential. The divine incarnation is not for the Krishnas and Gandhis alone. "Whoever approaches me in any form, in the same form do I approach him." If men would band together against the evil in the world, and in loving desire for the shared best among them all, the impact of this non-violence would complement the better and strengthen it progressively rather than the worse, thus inevitably bring-

ing about the amelioration of man's lot in any age and culture.

The fifth chapter of the Gita is entitled "Right Knowledge of the Renunciation of Action." The exhortation to act at the close of the preceding chapter makes the praise for a renunciation of action a rather ambiguous proposition, and the problem is discussed by Chatterji in his introduction to the new colloquy between Arjuna and his divine charioteer. The paths to illumination are different for different temperaments, as is necessary in a conservation of character and a justification of difference per se. As Chatterji points out, there is therefore no intimation that these differences represent stages in the great journey. The notion of an initial period in the life devoted to works, followed by a later one in which they are renounced, is an oversimplification. The two injunctions to works as such and to the abandonment of works must be capable of application to the same person at the same time. Arjuna sees an alternative, and Krishna accepts this resolution of the paradox as a possibility of choice, since "renunciation and right performance of action are both producers of the supreme good, but of these two, better is the right performance of action than renunciation." Thus Gandhi has every sanction for his election to work first for the upliftment of the Untouchables as a means for bringing the world to a way of peace. However, it is but a half-truth to see any actual choice here. Krishna explains that whoever chooses the right performance of action "is to be known as always a man of renunciation who neither dislikes nor likes, being truly beyond the pair of opposites . . . With ease he escapes from bondage" since "fools say, and not the wise, that renunciation and right performance of action are different. He who practises one perfectly, receives the fruit of both."

Actually renunciation itself is an act, and even the persisting reality of a complete assimilation into the

divine is a spiritual form of acting that cannot ever be designated as inaction but only as an act of the most irreducibly simple and eternally unified sort. Indeed, "it is difficult to attain true renunciation without right performance of action; the devotee, rightly performing action, attains to true renunciation before long." In verses of extreme beauty the real nature of this blending of action and renunciation is presented as a type of divinely dedicated poise in living which alone and proteanlike becomes the renunciation. "The man who is able on earth, until the departure of life, to bear the pressure springing from desire and anger, is possessed of right knowledge—is blessed . . . He whose joy is within, whose diversion is within, and whose light also is within, is the man of right knowledge; becoming the Supreme Spirit, he attains to effacement in the Supreme Spirit . . . Effacement in the Supreme Spirit is gained by the right-seeing sage, with his sins exhausted, doubts cut asunder, senses and organs under control, and devoted to the well-being of all creatures . . . For men of renunciation, whose hearts are at rest from desire and anger, and knowing the Self, there is, on both sides of death, effacement in the Supreme Spirit." The chapter ends with three verses which describe the psychological disciplines or yoga practices which help the aspirant attain this poise of selfhood, and the sixth or final chapter in the first section in the Gita is a species of commentary on these.

The second section of the Gita deals with universal spirit as in contrast with individual spirit, and is introduced at some length by Chatterji. "With this chapter [the seventh] begins the declaration of the mystery of the being of the Deity. In supreme reality the Deity has no attribute, and no relation to anything. Yet everything outside the Deity is false in the sense of not having the reality it claims. Man's suffering can never cease until this truth is realized. All religion, all philosophy,

all mystical practices aim at this realization as their highest end. Conditioned beings cannot possibly deal with the supreme truth except through symbolism of words which, without defining, indicates it. Hence it is clear that the value of these symbols depends upon the response which the nature of these beings makes to them. Consequently, as the characters of men differ, the symbols must differ also, in order to be of the same service to all. The method of approaching the inconceivable Deity must therefore vary in order that all men may have the possibility of accepting some scheme of salvation which is synonymous with the knowledge of the Deity. Mankind is divisible into three classes in relation to spiritual culture."

First are "those who are capable of realizing what the Deity is by the comprehension of verbal symbols which declare the identity of the Deity with the true Ego as the only reality, and all else an incomprehensible mystery called falsehood or illusion, to show its contemptible character. In the case of devotees of this class no preliminary training is needed for the perception of the truth, symbolized by the words of spiritual philosophy. As an object is seen as soon as the eye turns to it, so these pure souls find the Deity from the indication given by the words that declare Him. With them there is no exercise of the power of action in obtaining *real* knowledge of the Deity, just as the seeing of an object placed before the eye does not involve the thought of actorship, or the sense of producing the object by looking at it. There is a power in the object which compels the recognition of its existence by the observer. So Truth forces upon these highly spiritual beings its own recognition as soon as it is declared."

Second are "those upon whom the compelling power of Truth cannot operate on account of the restlessness of nature produced in them by passion and worldliness, but who yet receive spiritual truths in faith, and are able

to meditate upon them with fixed concentration. The man of meditation hears that the Deity is absolute and identical with the true Self. He *believes* it, but does not *realize* it. The method of spiritual culture appropriate to him is the transference of identity to the Deity by successive stages of self-absorbing meditation . . . The distinction between this and the preceding class is that it recognizes the independent agency of the aspirant for Truth, and has a practical end in view; namely, the realization of identity with the attributeless Deity. Those belonging to the first-mentioned class are free even from this desire; they find Truth is Truth and nothing more. It is obvious that this state of divine illumination is not merely the intellectual admission of Truth in words; as the knowledge of the word 'chemistry' is not the same as mastery of the chemical science."

Third are "those who through carnality of nature are not even able to concentrate their minds on Truth. These devotees worship God in love—the love that is feeling God to be the innermost Self; they seek for Him in His wondrous works manifested in nature and in man; they live in brotherly love with all fellow-worshippers, admonishing one another and declaring to one another the mystery of the Godhead, wishing well to all creatures, and performing good works for the sake of God alone—surrendering the personal will to the unsearchable will of God, the mysterious power which rules the universe. In this class there are individuals in different stages of spiritual development . . . All these devotees attain Nirvâna—those of the first class as soon as the truth which they perceive extinguishes the illusive identity of the self-conscious principle and the Ego. This is accomplished by the separation of interest from the mind by repeatedly bringing it to rest in the Truth that is perceived. Devotees of the two other classes progress through higher and higher spiritual states before attaining final rest. Those who have thor-

oughly realized identity with the Deity are not touched by anything said here; there being nothing beyond the Deity, the Scriptures can have no relation to those who are 'His very self.' "

What can easily be twisted into a sanction for the idea of hierarchy in spiritual progress is merely a recognition of the diversity in humankind. The sole justification of caste is service. Plato in his *Republic* shows how, with progress from primitive living to the co-operative life of a city, men delegate their functions to each other to the end that these can be specialized for the mutual profit of all. When Krishna says that "among thousands of men, some *one*, perhaps, strives for perfection; among those striving for perfection, some *one*, perhaps, knows me in reality," the meaning is not that it is only the one in the many who is fit for spiritual rewards, but that he instead is the rare person who is able to serve his fellows, and so help make God manifest in this most superb of all ways. The function of the avatar is primarily to dramatize the spiritual truths which in their practical or everyday form are shifting, inconstant and as infinitely varied as the responses among men everywhere. Hence the superficial inconsistencies of such a man as Gandhi actually reveal an unswerving intuition of the underlying and changeless reality.

The *Weltanschauung* with which the new discussion is inaugurated, the divine nature in its eightfold division, presents (1) earth as divine power in the aspect of pure material or utterly simple objectivity, (2) the four functionally material elements as consisting here of water, fire, air and ether (in order comprising the basic principles of (a) nutriment, or usefulness of things to each other, (b) animation or capacity for identity and selfhood, (c) co-operation or mutual interpenetration of things in the sense of consciousness or experience, and (d) order, integration and specialization as the capacity for mediating reality between a lower and a higher in

basic community or social potential), and (3) the three more essentially spiritual aspects of the divine nature as *manas*, *buddhi* and *ahankara* (more usually *atma*) which constitute a triune potentiality or divinity to complement mere existence (that is, respectively, time and space focus, transcendence of time and space as reality transferred from its unstable approximations in manifestation to its immutable form in consciousness, and the completeness of assimilation which Chatterji describes as "the totality of the dynamic energy of the Deity, the power of producing the universe out of the Divine Substance which never changes"). This Hindu world view dramatizes the capacity of the individual, as in himself representative of the all, to enter into the diversity of the cosmos itself without loss of his integrity, since intellectually he can comprise every possibility or reality in one or the other of these functional categories, and thus know the coherence of the many in the oneness within his mind.

In Chapter Eight, the in-ness of the actual—or what in the Sanskrit verbalization is the that-ness of all things—is approached when Chatterji says that "the acme of meditation is to lose self-consciousness in the object of meditation, and thus to become it." It is not a loss of self but the recovery of the greater self which can know itself and fulfill itself with equal convenience in its own immediate objectivity as a human person, or in any manifestation of the divine on any level of being. The Hindu is able without difficulty to assimilate the idea of object as the material of experience into the idea of this same object as the end and so the purpose of being. Nothing is important, intrinsically, only as it is meaningful, and meaning per se is sharability. The greater the meaning, the more consciousness is involved, so that all meaning, ultimately, is nothing more or less than God or pure consciousness and knowing. The observational theory of knowledge, ingrained in the thinking

of the Western world, is utterly foreign to Vedantic insights. Existence in this world, as seen separately or observed by a mind which is taken to look on its being from the outside in some mysterious and impossible sort of way, is self-cancellation and a living horror, whereas this same world as lived from within and known through a complete and utter fellowship with all its potentialities is, contrariwise, an endless beauty. Such is the answer to Arjuna, who wishes to avoid the consequences of human prides and jealousies. No escapism is offered; but rather consummation.

Chapter Nine is entitled "Right Knowledge of the Royal Mystery," and deals with the meditative procedures by which man, within the domain of his own thinking, may know and understand these things and so fulfill his function in accordance with his spiritual role in the world. Chapter Ten, "Right Knowledge of Divine Powers," deals primarily with the verbal difficulties of the thinkers in every age. If God and the universe are to be made but two names for the same thing, the words have lost their usefulness and every real insight is lost in a pantheistic surrender of spiritual powers to nature. Man has enthroned materialism, even as he does from another point of view when, his mind requiring a divine creator, he ejects God from the universe and as a deist sees materialistic forces still all-powerful in his economy. Contrary to this view in this exposition, God is personal and is reached individually, and it is at this point that the theistic doctrines come forth to support the emergence in Indian history of such figures as Gandhi.

Chapter Eleven is an apocalyptic vision, the principal purport of which is to demonstrate that time is the instrument of self-realization and therefore not the means by which identity is restricted to some irrevocable course of its own conditioned on-going. Krishna tells Arjuna, "Stand thou up, gain fame; conquering ene-

mies, enjoy foeless empire," because everything that happens is an expression of the interacting necessities of human character and natural aggregates of the things coming to one or another manifestation of reality, and hence is a convergence that may be created as well as suffered. Here is the fullness of self-expression on which any conscious spirituality depends, since spirituality is fullness per se. Again the philosophy of inevitability is explained, not as an inevitable course in any given case but as the absolute reliability of everything in terms of its character and potentials. In Chapter Twelve, concerned with "Right Knowledge of Devotion," the worship of the deity as the soul of the universe is set forth as the road to salvation.

The third part of the Gita deals with the subject of "Identity," which is shown to be the immediacy of the relation between the individual and the universal spirit. The microcosm and the macrocosm, both spiritual at root, confront each other, complementing and blending into each other in a phenomenon of manifestation. The central fact of this is individuality, only imperfectly known or understood in its superficial discreteness. The thirteenth chapter presents the psychology involved here as the interaction between the body, or *kshetra* as the perishable element of being, and the spirit which is manifest through body as *kshetrajna*, or the knower and that which is unperishable. The body for the ordinary man represents the whole of nature on the side of its actuality, while the spirit within himself is similarly representative of God in the divine potentiality. Theism here, as elsewhere in the world, becomes the corrective of the self-abnegation of materialism on the skeptical or critical side, and of subjective mysticism on the gullible and uncritical side. The Gita's exposition now becomes entirely psychological, with the world described in terms of the various powers and divisions by which it is evident to the individual experience, and

in terms of the thoughts and emotions and similar powers and divisions within self by which each person subjectively parallels or complements what seems to lie outside himself.

The fourteenth chapter takes up the problems of the good and evil matrices of each individual experience, and the fifteenth chapter is concerned with the sole road to salvation through the image of God, namely, increasing the right knowledge of the self. The sixteenth chapter amplifies this procedure by distinguishing among the attributes which are Godlike and those which bring man into bondage to the demoniac power of nature. The seventeenth chapter, on "Right Knowledge of the Threefold Division of Faith," presents the very important proposition that man's is grounded for better or worse in the history of his thinking, so that the Scriptures can in truth be said to be "men's eyes in regard to spiritual matters." But as Chatterji remarks "at the same time it is to be borne in mind that the Scriptures are not the truth, although they point out the path to truth." The final chapter of the Gita is a summary of the other seventeen, and re-emphasizes the great theistic insight that whatever springs from a sense of the total assimilation of self into divine totality is the only possible and ultimate corrective for the limitations and frustrations of men as these are expressed in the everyday acts more conditioned, often more pitifully inevitable, in terms of a hopeless personal or group karma. It is these latter which in the main comprise the current scene in any age of history, as upon the great battlefield where the discussions of the Gita were framed, near the site of the modern Delhi where Gandhi was assassinated.

AN AFTERWORD
By PARAMHANSA YOGANANDA

AN AFTERWORD

By Paramhansa Yogananda

Dress thyself in rich attire, befitting the moment. Now thou goest to thy beloved's home. Thou wilt lie in dust. Cover thyself with dust. Be one with dust. Bathe and wear a fitting dress. Remember thou art not returning from where thou goest.

(Song chosen by Gandhiji himself, to be sung at the time of his death.)

Mahatma Gandhi no longer walks the endless roads of India, nor leads the evening prayer meetings among his devotees. He has escaped from the fragile fast-worn body, and from the ashes now mingled with the sacred waters, but from our hearts there is no escape for Gandhiji—his living spirit is with us. As his soul commingles with the soul of God, not less must it commingle with those of us who seek to further the vision for which he died.

He did not belong to India alone, but to the world at large. Even in America—where only a few years ago he was known as a strange little man in a sheet—he has won the admiration, respect and, finally, love of untold thousands who have seen India's successful struggle towards freedom by peaceful means under his guidance. In these days, following his passing, the leading newspapers and magazines all over the country have devoted pages to the details of his tragic death, to biographical data and to the pictures and accounts of the important moments in his ever-active life.

What can we who ourselves are of India—or who otherwise feel ourselves particularly close to him—add to all the tributes? We have read how he made a

gesture of forgiveness as he sank stricken to the ground. We have shared the shock and grief of his disciples, and have visualized them as they watched throughout the tragic night, chanting Vedic hymns or verses from the Bhagavad-Gita, preparing his body for its last trip to the burning ghat while thousands of others waited for a fleeting and final glimpse of his frail form. We have seen the pictures of Mahatmaji on his bier strewn with rose petals. Perhaps we have been comforted in some measure because his expression was so peaceful, somehow lessening our horror at the thought of the bullet holes which marred his garlanded body. In our mind's eye we have followed his progress to the funeral pyre, and have felt the strain upon his son, Ramdas, as he followed the traditional ceremony and kindled the flames which would be helped by the ghee or melted butter and coconut oil added so that the remains might be reduced to ashes the more quickly, and we even may have thought we caught the odor of camphor, used to enhance the fragrance of the sandalwood logs.

We have had reverent descriptions of the quiet services which were designed to symbolize Gandhiji's freedom at last from his earthly limitations: the flower offerings—the sacred words Aum and Ram spelled in rose petals—the chanting of Hindu and Moslem verses and Christian hymns—the triple circling of the cold pyre to cut the earthly ties—the privilege of kneeling at the foot of the pyre in a last obeisance before the remaining vestige of the Mahatma's physical form, the ashes which would so soon be returned to their source.

Not only have we been aware of our personal loss, but we have been able in some measure to sense the bereavement of those multitudes to whom he was Bapuji—father. We can realize how much heavier the burden borne by the new government of an independent India has become, and perhaps like millions of others we have offered up a prayer for those charged

with sudden greater responsibilities, especially Jawaharlal Nehru who now must enter the most difficult phase of his part in the long and arduous struggle of the Hindus to their high destiny.

As for myself, I sought to give what tribute I could over our radio in Los Angeles when I said: "Mahatma Gandhi's passing is a loss not only to India but to the whole world. World leaders and all India mourn for him. We mourn for our loss, but he is freer to work through the Infinite. Jesus Christ and Abraham Lincoln died for the same cause as Mahatma Gandhi has died. As Judas was the best publicity agent for the message of Christ, so this Indian assassin who killed Gandhiji will help spread his doctrine of Ahimsa, or fighting evil by nonviolence. In keeping with Mahatma Gandhi's doctrine, we hope that his assassin receives lifeterm instead of capital punishment.

"By following Gandhiji's nonviolent doctrine, India won her independence without firing a single shot. If the world followed his doctrine, it too could receive its independence from the slavery of destructive and misery-making wars. Gandhiji, limited by his frail body, accomplished much, but his liberated spirit will work more mightily in the hearts of nations and individuals for all time. Let us pay homage to the ever-living great Mahatma Gandhi. He is not dead, for his exemplary life and spirit of goodness are going to work unhampered through the temple of our hearts ever and forever."

Already the great heaven is at work, and in a materialistic world there are many who saw the real implication of Gandhiji's life as something reaching out into the future—not a glorious past brought to its ignominious end in a tragic present. For example, in an editorial entitled "Death As A Weapon," the *Los Angeles Times* said, "Our patriots do not serve by going meekly to jail. They are willing to risk their lives, but they do

not think death is useful in itself. Gandhi did. In his spiritual and political realms, death was a weapon. He wielded tremendous power by threatening to die. He swayed a subcontinent by holding his life, like a bottle of nitro-glycerin, balanced on his fingertip." Here were exhibited basic differences between Eastern and Western views on life and its values. At the memorial services held by our Self-Realization Fellowship, I said that "statues may be erected in his honor, but we must erect in one corner of our heart a statue to nonviolence if Gandhi is to be rightly remembered. We must establish a monument to Gandhi within us if we are to have a world peace. Enemies and friends are all our brothers under the fatherhood of God."

In the symbolic rites conducted at this service I wore the ochre-orange robes which throughout India denote the Renunciate Order. Flames were ignited in the brazier and in them we saw the fire symbolical of the flames which consumed the body of Gandhi beside the holy River Jumna. "Gandhi's physical body has been dissolved in the cosmic fire," I said, "and now his soul commingles with the soul of God." Into the smoking receptacle I then dropped a snowy calla lily and a gardenia, and sang a song dedicated to the lamented Hindu leader, before my prayer for unity between Hindustan and Pakistan and peace among all nations.

In my thoughts I go back to 1925, at the time of my visit with Gandhi at his ashrama in Wardha, when we had several days of discussion of America, of his satyagraha principles, and of my own yoga teachings. When I wrote my *Autobiography of a Yogi* (New York, Philosophical Library, 1946) I looked back on what now I could identify as a "Wardha idyl." Of it I said, "The nonviolent voice of Gandhi appeals to man's highest conscience. Let nations ally themselves no longer with death, but with life; not with destruction, but with construction; not with the Annihilator, but with the

Creator. Nonviolence is the natural outgrowth of the law of forgiveness and love. Epics shall some day be written on the Indian satyagrahis who withstood hate with love, violence with nonviolence, who allowed themselves to be mercilessly slaughtered rather than retaliate. The result on certain historic occasions was that the armed opponents threw down their guns and fled, shamed, shaken to their depths by the sight of men who valued the life of another above their own. Never does the Mahatma forget the majestic warning: 'All they that take the sword shall perish with the sword.'

"By the Mahatma's training of thousands of true satyagrahis, who in turn spread the message; by patiently educating the Indian masses to understand the spiritual and eventually material benefits of nonviolence; by arming his people with nonviolent weapons—non-cooperation with injustice, the willingness to endure indignities, prison, death itself rather than resort to arms; by enlisting world sympathy through countless examples of heroic martyrdom among satyagrahis, Gandhi has dramatically portrayed the practical nature of nonviolence, its solemn power to settle disputes without war. Gandhi has already won through nonviolent means a greater number of political concessions for his land than have ever been won by any leader of any country except through bullets. Nonviolent methods of eradication of all wrongs and evils have been strikingly applied not only in the political arena but in the delicate and complicated field of Indian social reform. Gandhi and his followers have removed many longstanding feuds between Hindus and Mohammedans; hundreds of thousands of Moslems look to the Mahatma as their leader. The untouchables have found in him their fearless and triumphant champion. The Mahatma is indeed a 'great soul,' but it was illiterate millions who had the discernment to know this first. Their gentle prophet is honored in his own land. The lowly peasant has been able to rise

to Gandhi's high challenge. The Mahatma wholeheartedly believes in the inherent nobility of man. The inevitable failures have never disillusioned him."

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